the weekly Standard

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MAN OF WAR: NELSON AT TRAFALGAR
ROBERT MESSENGER • HENRIK BERING

THE WHITE HOUSE, THE CIA, AND THE WILSONS

The chain of events within the Bush administration that outed her, made him famous, and gave rise to a grand jury investigation

Stephen F. Hayes

oe Wilson and his wife, CIA gent Valerie Plame, at a book igning, November 2004

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AP's Preposterous Scoop

Last Thursday, President Bush spoke with a handful of U.S. soldiers in Iraq in a made-for-TV teleconference call. Like all presidential events, this one was carefully planned ahead of time. (For one thing, there's no such thing as a spontaneous satellite uplink.) Before the president arrived, a Pentagon official in Washington practiced with the soldiers the order in which they would talk to the president, as well as the topics that would be discussed.

You may or may not see the news angle here. If you don't, you're obviously not a professional journalist. The Associated Press, on the other hand, smelled a grand opportunity to embarrass the Bush White House. That's what makes them America's leading wire service (that and the fact that they have no real competitors). Here's the "scoop" filed by AP's Deb Riechmann:

> BUSH TELECONFERENCE WITH SOLDIERS STAGED
>
> WASHINGTON—It was billed as a conversation with U.S. troops, but the questions President Bush asked on a teleconference call Thursday were choreographed to match his goals for the war in Iraq and Saturday's vote on a new Iraqi constitution.
>
> "This is an important time," Allison Barber, deputy assistant defense secretary, said, coaching the soldiers before Bush arrived. "The president is looking forward to having just a conversation with you."
>
> Barber said the president was interested in three topics: the overall security situation in Iraq, security preparations for the weekend vote and efforts to train Iraqi troops.
>
> As she spoke in Washington, a live shot of 10 soldiers from the Army's 42nd Infantry Division and one Iraqi soldier was beamed into the Eisenhower Executive Office Building from Tikrit—the birthplace of former Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein.
>
> "I'm going to ask somebody to grab those two water bottles against the wall and move them out of the camera shot for me," Barber said.
>
> A brief rehearsal ensued.
>
> "OK, so let's just walk through this," Barber said. "Captain Kennedy, you answer the first question and you hand the mike to whom?" . . .

Et cetera, et cetera, et (at tedious length) cetera. THE SCRAPBOOK, for the record, is no great fan of such events. Come the revolution, we'll enthusiastically join the mob that strangles the last "Presidential Town Hall Meeting" and the last "Listening Tour" with the entrails of the last "National Conversation." But what AP is describing here is the nature of every televised presidential event of modern times, from the moment JFK powdered his oily nose before debating Nixon down to the present.

If AP seriously thinks readers (and client newspapers) are looking to it for a deconstruction of modern media fakery, there are a number of potential follow-up exposés. For instance, after an in-depth investigation, THE SCRAPBOOK has learned the following:

* Several well-regarded network anchors wear earpieces through which they receive instructions from cleverer colleagues behind the scenes, including what questions they should ask during the "interviews" they conduct!

* Some of the seemingly spur-of-the-moment questions asked by reporters at presidential news conferences have actually been scripted in advance by bureau chiefs and producers. The correspondents aren't really thinking for themselves, they're just following orders from headquarters!

Meanwhile, in other news, many reporters continue to deny their work is affected by political bias in general or Bush-hatred in particular. They just "follow the story" wherever it leads. ♦

Advice for Freshmen

THE SCRAPBOOK is always on the qui-vive for sound advice to pass along to our collegiate readers. Recently we came across an article by one of our favorite professors, Harvey Mansfield, in the *Harvard Salient*, on "How to Survive as a Conservative at Harvard." We think the advice has broader applicability and are pleased to present excerpts:

"To survive means to survive as you are, by remaining a conservative. You can often survive by surrendering to your surroundings, like certain Supreme Court Justices. That may have been good enough for Darwin's theory of evolution, but you and I want something better than surviving by adaptation. If you think things over and change your mind so as to become a liberal, that is respectable and we will wave goodbye with good humor. But, apart from that possibility, how does one survive at Harvard and remain a conservative?

"Entering Harvard, you are faced with a curriculum that has lots of choice. . . . Lots of choice doesn't mean lots of good choices, as you know from the student dining halls. . . . It doesn't matter so much what the professor's politics may be, liberal or even left. What matters is whether the class is conducted *honestly*, by which I mean presenting and considering ideas contrary to his own. Like an honest salesman, or better than that, the honest professor makes you aware of the defects or the difficulties of the argument he is propounding.

"Thus choosing your courses is not easy. Getting advice is not easy either, for those giving the advice are often part of the problem, not part of the solution. One place to get good advice is from fellow conservative students. They know the courses to avoid

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and may have found courses worth taking. Your parents may have good advice for you, though they usually lack information. Don't despair. . . .

"As a conservative you will probably get a better education because you will have been forced to be critical of an institution so blind to itself as to be proud of its open-mindedness. But you mustn't be too proud yourself. It's easy to be self-righteous by supposing that if you are in a minority, you must be right. . . ."

Come to think of it, that's probably also sound advice for those of us who've been engaged in self-directed post-graduate studies for the last few decades. ♦

French Diplomacy, 101

Jean-Bernard Mérimée, France's U.N. ambassador from 1991 to 1995, and a special adviser to U.N. secretary general Kofi Annan from 1999 to 2002, was arrested last week in Paris on corruption and bribery charges involving the U.N.'s Oil-for-Food program in Iraq. Serge Boidevaix, the former number two man at the French foreign ministry, and currently president of the Franco-Arab Chamber of Commerce, had been placed under similar investigation the month before.

Get a hold of yourself, though: "The reasons which led France not to participate in the war in Iraq had to do with our conception of international law," a foreign ministry spokesman told reporters seeking comment on this latest development. And French prime minister Dominique de Villepin underscored the point during an interview with Europe 1 Radio. It's for the courts to judge whether the "conduct here" was appropriate, he pointed out. "What I want to say, having been responsible for French diplomacy, is that no one has the right to sully that diplomacy so easily."

Funny thing is, one of French diplomacy's most influential mouthpieces appears to disagree: "These suspicions will knock a deep hole in the image of French diplomacy," moans a breathtakingly hypocritical editorial in *Le Monde*. "Even the most indulgent will wonder about the risks of a pro-Arab policy that was at times willfully blind." ♦

Having It Both Ways

"What did Karl Rove say to me that I knew on Monday that I couldn't reveal? Well, it's what we all know now, that Harriet Miers is an Evangelical Christian, that she is from a very conservative church, which is almost universally pro-life . . ."

—James Dobson, Oct. 12

"People ask me why I picked Harriet Miers. They want to know Harriet Miers's background; they want to know as much as they possibly can before they form opinions. And part of Harriet Miers's life is her religion."

—President George W. Bush, Oct. 12

"Well, some of you all wanted to focus more on religion. We focused on her qualifications and record."

—White House spokesman Scott McClellan to reporters, Oct. 13

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Casual

So's Your Old Man

Working at The Weekly Standard, which I joined some eight months ago, has been an unalloyed pleasure. With one somewhat disconcerting exception. My office is located in a corner where I find myself surrounded by twenty-somethings, and for the first time in my life, I am not only one of the older people on staff but feeling—well, practically at the threshold of senility.

I should explain. My parents, by the standards of the era, were older than usual (my father was 42 when I was born, my mother 38) and I am, by several years, the youngest of three siblings. I skipped a grade in elementary school, which means that, after age eight, I was always younger than my classmates, which was no great social advantage. For much of my working life I was often the junior in the office, and in some circumstances supervised colleagues significantly older than myself.

As it happens, I have always been very comfortable around geezers, and enjoy drawing them out in conversation. This stems partly from an interest in the time of their lives (late 19th/early 20th century) and partly from the fact that I grew up among older relatives, neighbors, family friends, music teachers, etc., and so learned to ingratiate myself with the senior set while maneuvering among my contemporaries. All of which is to say that I have tended to think of myself as perpetually younger than I really am, Peck's Bad Boy seated in the rear of the classroom, tossing spitballs.

Which is more than a little delusional. Some years ago I attended a class reunion and was deeply flattered when several of my female classmates remarked that I had scarcely changed, in appearance or manner, since our days in school together. When I reported this exciting news to my wife, she diagnosed the situation with her customary sardonic clarity: It was not that I was so youthful *now*, she surmised, but that I had been prematurely middle-aged *then*.

Perhaps so. When I walk around downtown Washington, and think I see an acquaintance from childhood, I have to remind myself that so-and-so would scarcely look like the person I see but more closely resemble my own dilapidated, gray-haired self.

Darren Gygi

Working at The Standard has not been helpful. Since I am at least twice the age of many of the young people floating around here, I have to remind myself that vivid memories from, say, the early 1960s or mid-'70s occurred before they were born, and are as remote from them as the Depression was to me.

I understand that there is bound to be a mutual incomprehension about such things as pop culture, and that their collective memories are different from my own. But I was astonished one day to learn that none of them had ever heard of (much less seen) *Harvey*, the great Jimmy Stewart comedy about a dipsomaniac and his invisible rabbit, which was produced the year I was born and still makes me laugh. When I deliver a cherished line from Lyndon Johnson's 1965 State of the Union address ("the harsh caliche soil of . . . the Pedernales River") or a favorite Jimmy Carter press conference ("Bert, I'm proud of you") I might as well be speaking of the Roaring Twenties or President Cleveland.

I have also noticed that, whenever I launch into some reminiscence, or deliver myself of a sage observation, the young folks in the vicinity grow politely silent and listen respectfully. I have had to restrain a natural inclination to flirt, and understand, with some sadness, that accepting my invitation to an after-hours cocktail would be (from their point of view) an act of charity. At such times, colleagues closer to my own age are already safely at home, worrying about their mortgages.

This is, I suppose, a symptom of the Baby Boom tendency toward perpetual adolescence—or, put another way, an unconscious decision to avoid reality. But I am genuinely mystified by the discrepancy between what I read on the calendar and what I see in the mirror. With the exception of occasional aches, reading glasses, and a certain stiffness in the morning, I don't feel very different from the way I felt two decades ago, and am still inclined to address my elders as "Mr." and "Mrs."

From a Freudian standpoint, the mystery deepens. I well remember my father when he was the same age as I am, and my memory suggests that he was considerably more subdued and sedentary—more elderly, if you will—than I believe myself to be. (He was dead 10 years later.) Of course, this could all be a matter of perspective, and the ghastly truth is that my children, and my younger colleagues at work, see in me the same decrepit spectacle I saw in my parent.

Still, while I am not exactly a dazzling exemplar of physical culture, I do ride my bicycle, run up the stairs, dance with my wife, chase my daughter, roll around on the floor with my beagle—all things my father wouldn't have dreamed of doing at this age. Youthful energy or absence of dignity? Probably both.

Philip Terzian

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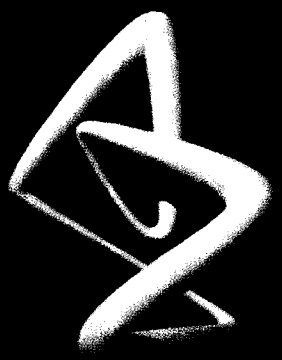
What does this stand for?



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Pinkos' Poor Sportship

Alas, The Scrapbook's insinuation regarding the difficulty of removing tenured stereotypes, such as those propagated by pink locker rooms, seems not to be true at the University of Iowa ("Seeing Pink," Oct. 10).

The University of Iowa is just as p.c., or even more so, than, say, Berkeley or Harvard. For instance, following a trend among Big Ten schools, it recently amended its official publications by deleting the word "sportsmanship" and replacing it with "sportship," so as not to be gender-insensitive. A university with that attitude toward political correctness would be willing to treat seriously any professor's kooky idea about the "malice" of pink locker rooms, centuries of stereotype notwithstanding.

Brian Vakulskas
Sioux City, IA

Academic Jeopardy

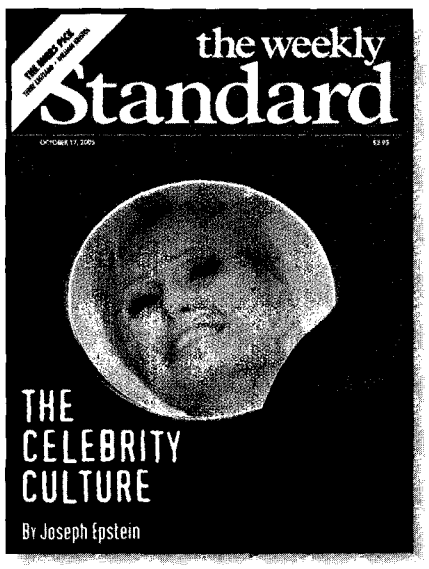
In "The Left University" (Oct. 3) James Piereson mentions a critical element of education that is lost to the modern university, but for some reason he does not bemoan that loss. With the adoption of the German university model, he writes, "professors would no longer pass along truths and traditional moral ideals, but would subject these truths and ideals to scrutiny in the search for new knowledge."

The modern university, hostile to religion and traditional theology, is wont blithely to assume that rational and scientific progress leads to the demise of religion. For those who believe religion is true, the reform that Piereson is seeking must include respect for, and curricular inclusion of, religion on its own terms, as well as its bearing on philosophy, the humanities, and the social and pure sciences.

Could it be that part of the legitimate diversity of a "reformed university" should be to make sure that religion is treated seriously and respectfully as well as critically? How can there be "the search for truth" unless there is some recognition that there is some ultimate, unified truth?

If we want to improve and strengthen the academic enterprise, the religious voice can no longer be excluded, especially given the prominence of religion in the United States and indeed around the world.

John H. White
President Emeritus, Geneva College
Beaver Falls, PA



James Piereson is absolutely correct in saying that we should not attempt to replace the left university with the right university but that we need to work toward the restoration of the university simply as a place of learning. The problem is how we get there from here, given the entrenchment of the left in key positions at most American colleges and universities.

The steps Piereson discusses, such as establishing nonleftist centers within the unfriendly terrain, are all helpful but are not enough to combat the pervasive leftism we now find. It is often more sensible to go around an obstacle than to try to remove it. I believe that we need to start some new institutions that combine 21st century technology and amenities with a solid, useful education. Schools that offer a reasonably priced product without the unwanted distraction of leftist ideology would have a strong attraction compared with the costly, politicized education offered at many institutions.

George C. Leef
Director, John W. Pope Center for Higher Education Policy
Raleigh, NC

Fantasy Gone Wild

Regarding Stephen F. Hayes's "Fantasy Life" (Oct. 10): When it comes to fantasy football, I have passed from "it picks up speed" to "it careens out of control." I realized this while working at a concession stand Sept. 25 at Heinz Field, home of my team, the Pittsburgh Steelers (Steelers vs. Patriots—a rematch of last year's failed AFC championship effort). When the New England Patriots scored with two touchdowns by Corey Dillon, who is on my fantasy roster, I cheered! This, as I'm serving yet another beer to an upset Steelers fan! Sometimes living on the edge is treacherous. By the way, anyone interested in a trade?

Sarah Komlenic
Pittsburgh, PA

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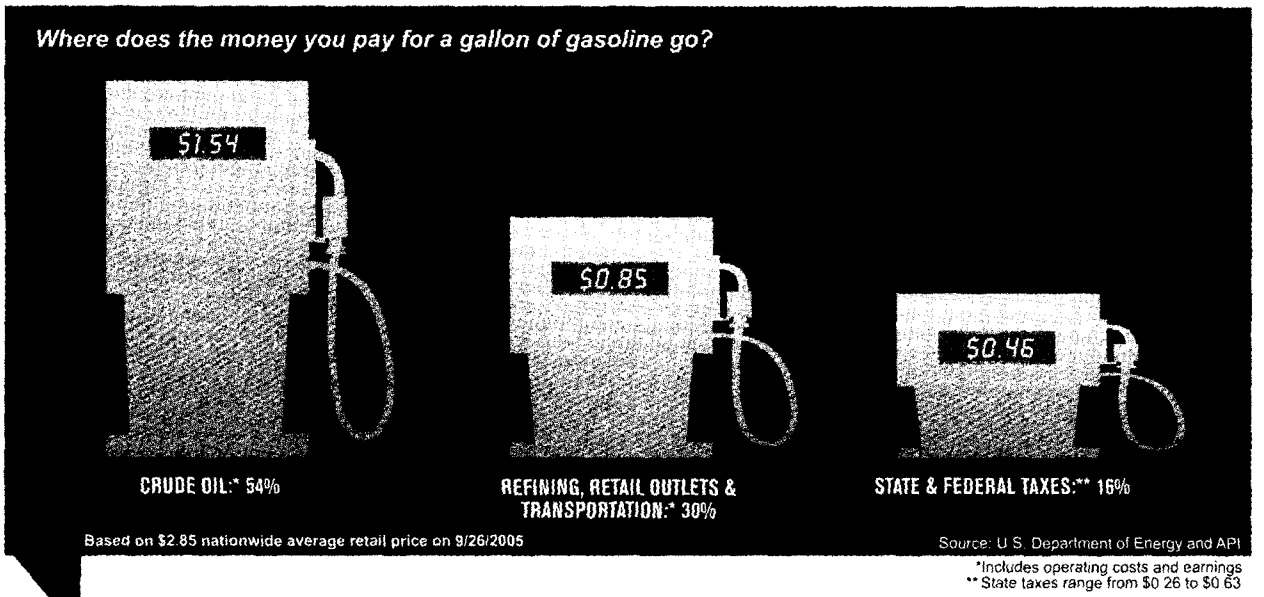

The price at the pump

World demand for oil is at an all-time high – and growing.

As a result, crude oil prices – determined by global commodity trading markets – have risen by 30 percent since May.

What's that got to do with the price of gasoline at the pump? A lot.

A June 2005 Federal Trade Commission report said: "The world price of crude oil is the most important factor in the price of gasoline." Crude oil accounts for more than half the cost of a gallon of gas.

The recent hurricanes' damage to oil and gas facilities in the Gulf Coast region has constrained domestic crude oil and gasoline production.

Where do we go from here? We all have a role to play.

Our first priorities are to get electricity restored and to repair the damage recently inflicted on our facilities. There's much more to do, but together we're making real progress bringing crude oil and gasoline supplies back to normal levels.

Second, we all can do our part by using energy more efficiently. You can find helpful ideas at www.api.org.

Third, it's time policymakers stop debating and help ensure reliable energy supplies. Part of the answer must be greater domestic onshore and offshore production and improved energy infrastructure. With added supplies from home and abroad, gasoline availability will be less volatile due to natural disasters such as hurricanes or other supply threats.

Consumers, government and the oil and gas industry all share an interest in ensuring reliable energy supplies.

Working together, it's a goal we can achieve.

A Message From

America's Oil & Natural Gas Industry

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the weekly Standard

Criminalizing Conservatives

The most effective conservative legislator of—oh—the last century or so, Congressman Tom DeLay, was indicted last month for allegedly violating Texas campaign finance laws, and has vacated his position as House majority leader. The Senate majority leader, Bill Frist, is under investigation by the Justice Department and the Securities and Exchange Commission for his sale of stock in the medical company his family started.

White House deputy chief of staff Karl Rove and vice presidential chief of staff Scooter Libby have been under investigation by a special federal prosecutor, Patrick Fitzgerald, for more than two years. When appointed in 2003 by the Bush Justice Department, Fitzgerald was given a mandate to find out if the leaking to reporters of the identity of a CIA employee, Valerie Plame, was a violation of a 1982 statute known as the Philip Agee law, and if so, who violated it. It now seems clear that Rove and Libby are the main targets of the prosecutor, and that both are in imminent danger of indictment.

Is the identity of Valerie Plame the most consequential leak of the last four years? Were Rove and Libby bigger leakers than, say, the CIA's George Tenet or Richard Armitage at the State Department?

What do these four men have in common, other than their status as prosecutorial targets? Since 2001, they have been among the most prominent promoters of the conservative agenda of the Bush administration. For over four years, they have helped two strong conservatives, George W. Bush and Dick Cheney, successfully advance an agenda for change in America. To the extent these four are sidelined, there is a real chance that the Bush-Cheney administration will become less successful.

A number of analysts have argued that all this fits a fairly predictable pattern of two-term presidents: a vigorous first term, followed by agenda fatigue and assorted scandals in the second term. Bill Clinton, after all, had his Monica Lewinsky, Ronald Reagan his Iran-contra, Nixon his Watergate. Even Dwight Eisenhower saw the resignation in disgrace of his powerful chief of staff, Sherman Adams, over the questionable gift of a vicuña coat.

The situation today, however, seems different. There was plenty of political polarization in those earlier presidencies, but today polarization divides more neatly along partisan lines. The earlier presidencies had plenty of internal ideological rifts, but the incidence of scandal and investigation was not exclusive to one side or the other.

In today's Washington, as has been true for decades, classified information is leaked by many different players in any given policy fight in the government. The Bush administration has been replete with leaks of presumably classified information. Is the identity of Valerie Plame the most consequential leak of the last four years? Were Rove and Libby bigger leakers than, say, the CIA's George Tenet or Richard Armitage at the State Department? Do no employees of the Central Intelligence Agency (almost universally anti-Bush and anti-conservative) ever leak anything? If so, have they been indicted, or investigated by a special prosecutor? *Any* prosecutor?

Much the same is true of DeLay's alleged laundering of soft (corporate and/or unlimited) money in 2002 races for the Texas legislature, where only hard money (limited, individual contributions) is allowed. At the press conference called by Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi to comment on the DeLay indictment and the "culture of corruption" fostered in Washington by conservative Republicans, she was asked about her own high-dollar soft-money fundraising—supposedly banned for members of Congress by the 2002 McCain-Feingold law—to defeat a ballot initiative on congressional redistricting sponsored by California governor Arnold Schwarzeneg-

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ger. She replied that her soft-money fundraising was utterly different from DeLay's because it had been blessed by her campaign lawyers, and she never raises soft money while standing or sitting on government property. Without missing a beat, reporters at the Pelosi press conference dropped the awkward subject and returned the focus to DeLay and to the larger pattern of Republican corruption DeLay's indictment supposedly signifies.

Bill Frist suddenly and unexpectedly became Senate majority leader in December 2002. In the 2004 campaign, Frist broke Senate precedent and visited the state of his Democratic counterpart, Minority Leader Tom Daschle, to campaign for Daschle's Republican opponent.

Then, in 2005, Frist launched a campaign against Democratic judicial filibusters. Though he did not succeed in his goal of a Senate rules change, his efforts are widely believed to have greatly reduced the possibility that Democrats could successfully filibuster a Bush Supreme Court nominee. Having emerged in the last year as a conservative leader, Frist now finds himself under investigation. Just another coincidence?

Don't try selling the idea of coincidence to Kenneth Tomlinson, until recently the chairman of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). Last May, the *New York Times* published a lengthy account of Tomlinson's efforts to bring increased balance to public television—i.e., giving a bit more of a hearing to conservatives. He commissioned a modest study to confirm what most everyone already knew, that the practice on shows produced or moderated by Bill Moyers is to interview conservatives and Republicans only when they are in disagreement with the predominant conservative or Republican position on a given issue.

Did Cheney change his views on regime change in Iraq between 1991 and 2003? Don't ask him why. It's enough to give a one-word explanation of his views: "Halliburton."

Within days of the *Times* piece, Democratic congressmen David Obey and John Dingell, ranking minority members on two key committees, wrote a letter to the CPB inspector general, Kenneth Konz, demanding a detailed, elaborate investigation of Tomlinson. Not only did Konz comply, he asked Tomlinson to provide all his emails, which Tomlinson did, and conducted a search of Tomlinson's office files without telling him. A few months later, in September, Konz gave an interview to Bloomberg News in which he confided, concerning an ongoing and incomplete investigation, "Clearly there are indications of possible violations." Konz later said he had been misunderstood, and that it was much too early to come to any conclusions.

Tomlinson's term as CPB chairman expired last month, though he remains a member of the board. But the inspector general's investigation of Tomlinson's conduct as chairman, designed by Obey and Dingell and their liberal staffers, continues with no end in sight.

Meanwhile, a kind of ideological criminalization of active, visible conservatives has become almost second nature to the left and the elite professions, including journalism and teaching, in which they predominate. Did Dick Cheney change his views on regime change in Iraq between 1991 and 2003? Don't ask him why. It's enough to give a one-word explanation of his views: "Halliburton." The unspoken premise is that Cheney changed his position to line his pockets.

And what was the left's central, most deeply felt image of the presidential campaign of 2004? Actively marketed by Dan Rather and CBS News, it was this: John Kerry was a war hero and George W. Bush went AWOL. AWOL is, of course, an acronym: "Absent Without Leave." In the military, being AWOL is a crime subject to court martial, and to lengthy imprisonment. So saying Bush was AWOL was not just an attempt to compare his military service unfavorably with Kerry's, which is fair enough. It was an attempt to criminalize Bush's military career. Though the attempt backfired when it became clear CBS had accepted faked evidence, Democratic and liberal elites were sold on the idea that "war hero" vs. "AWOL" was the key to undermining the widespread respect Bush had achieved by his response to 9/11.

Why are conservative Republicans, who control the executive and legislative branches of government for the first time in living memory, so vulnerable to the phenomenon of criminalization? Is it simple payback for the impeachment of Bill Clinton? Or is it a reflection of some deep malady at the heart of American politics? If criminalization is seen to loom ahead for every conservative who begins successfully to act on his or her beliefs in government or politics, is the project of conservative reform sustainable?

We don't pretend to have all the answers, or a solid answer even to one of these questions. But it's a reasonable bet that the fall of 2005 will be remembered as a time when it became clear that a comprehensive strategy of criminalization had been implemented to inflict defeat on conservatives who seek to govern as conservatives. And it is clear that thinking through a response to this challenge is a task conservatives can no longer postpone.

—Jeffrey Bell and William Kristol

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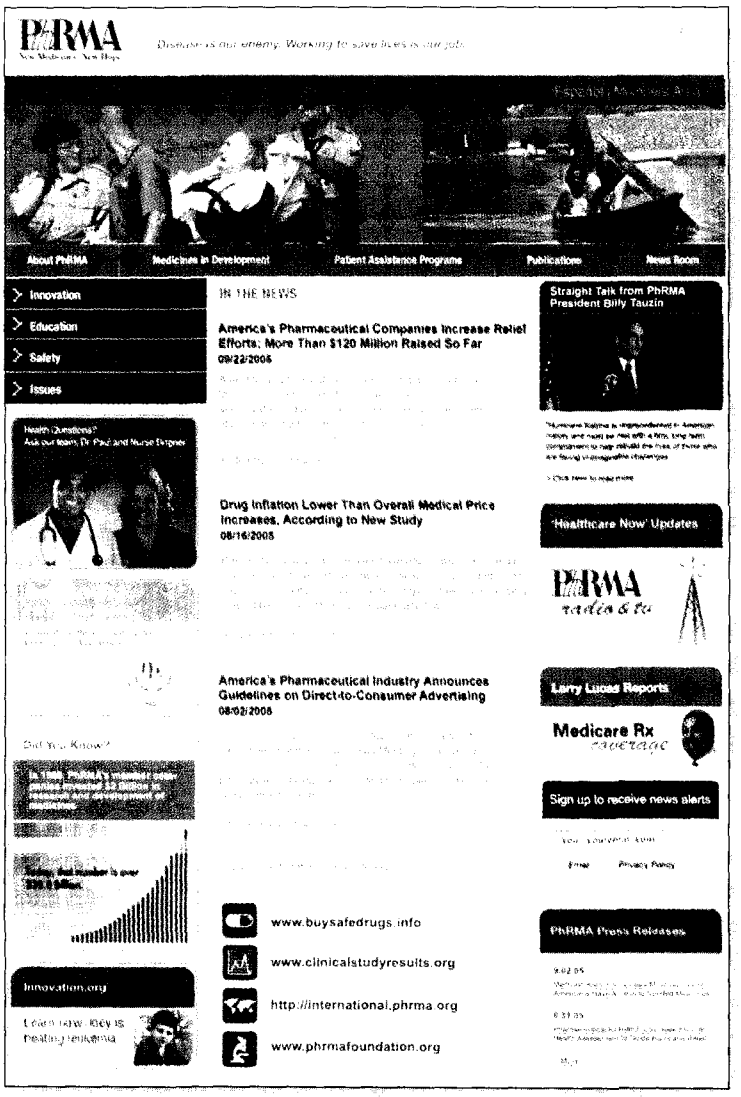

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Bush's Off-year Election

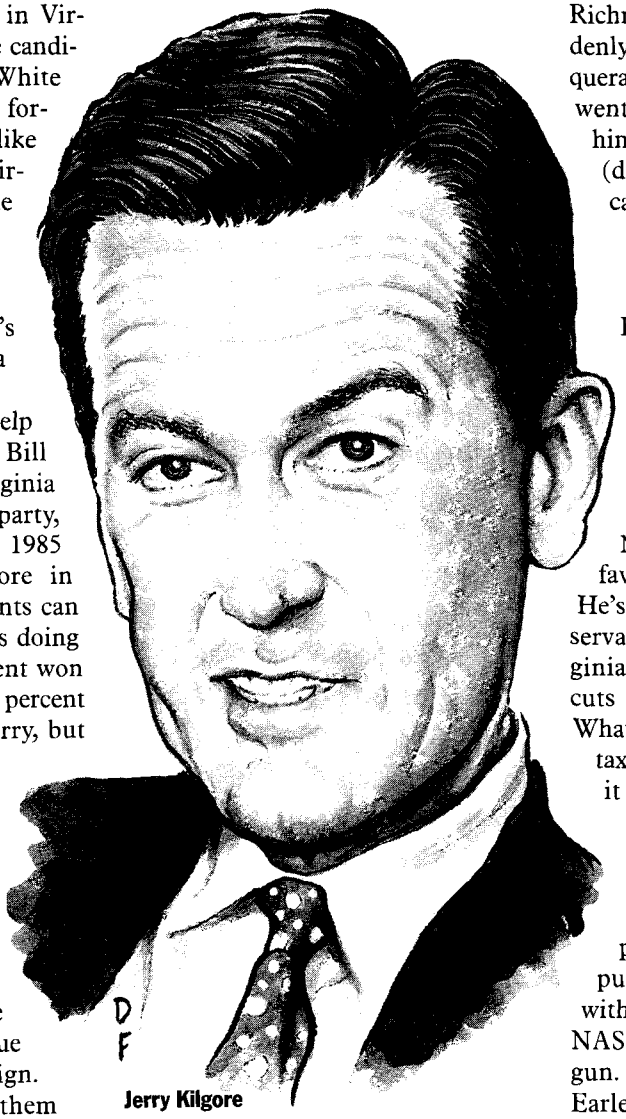
Virginia's gubernatorial race is a test of the president's popularity. BY FRED BARNES

Richmond

HISTORY IS NOT on Jerry Kilgore's side. The Virginia governor's election comes one year after a presidential election. And in the last seven races in Virginia, going back to 1977, the candidate of the party in the White House has lost. Kilgore, the former state attorney general, is, like Bush, a Republican. Still, Virginia is a Republican state (both U.S. senators, 8 of 11 House members, solid majorities in the state senate and house). But the governor's race is different. It's partly a referendum on the president.

Popular presidents don't help much. Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton saw governors in Virginia elected from the opposition party, Democrat Gerald Baliles in 1985 and Republican Jim Gilmore in 1997. But unpopular presidents can hurt. And that's what Bush is doing now in Virginia. The president won the state handily last year (54 percent to 45 percent) over John Kerry, but he's now hit a rough patch in the polls. Bush is a drag on Kilgore.

Early in 2005, Kilgore was running 5 to 10 points ahead of his Democratic opponent, Lt. Governor Tim Kaine. But as Bush sank, so did Kilgore. The race is now tied, with no single issue dominating the campaign. Democrats, thousands of them with Kerry bumper stickers still on their cars, are highly enthused, Republicans less so. This is bound to affect voter turnout on Election Day, November 8.



Jerry Kilgore

Illustration by Drew Friedman

While Kilgore, 44, rarely mentions Bush and is unlikely to invite him to make campaign appearances, Kaine has tied himself closely to Mark Warner, Virginia's popular Democratic governor. Kaine refers constantly to the "Warner-Kaine" administration as if the two were elected as a ticket (they weren't) and as if he and Warner had governed Virginia jointly over the past four years (they didn't). Virginia has a one-term limit for governors, and Warner, a moderate, is now gearing up to run for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008. He passed up a chance to challenge Republican senator George Allen in 2006.

Clinging to Warner gives Kaine moderate cover. The former mayor of Richmond, Kaine, 47, is either a suddenly lapsed liberal or a liberal masquerading as a moderate. Warner, 50, went out of his way to differentiate himself from Kaine on social issues (death penalty, guns) in the 2001 campaign. But now he is appearing in TV ads and stumping for Kaine. Without Warner, Kaine's chances of defeating Kilgore would be sharply diminished.

Kaine, a clever debater, has been tireless in playing the role of moderate. Running for lieutenant governor in 2001, he was pro-choice on abortion. Now he calls himself pro-life and favors some curbs on abortion. He's shown up at events of the conservative Family Foundation of Virginia. He insists he's promoted tax cuts in the past and isn't anti-gun. What Kilgore calls the "most massive tax increase" in Virginia history—it passed in 2004 with some Republican support—Kaine refers to as "budget reform."

But Kaine has split with Warner on one thing: campaign strategy. In 2001, Warner pursued a rural strategy, traveling with a bluegrass band, sponsoring a NASCAR team, and sounding pro-gun. He defeated Republican Mark Earley 52 percent to 47 percent. Kaine's plan emphasizes urban areas, particularly the northern Virginia suburbs of Washington. By piling up majorities there, he hopes to over-

Fred Barnes is executive editor of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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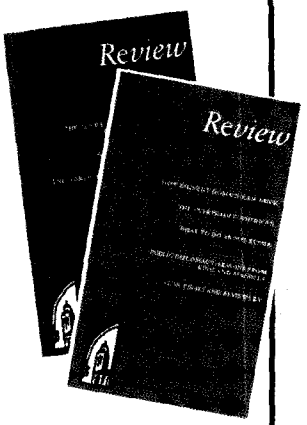

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Today, a book about the vagaries of the American character might still have a great deal to say about narcissism, but its subtitle would likely point to something other than diminishing expectations. It would, perhaps, document "Life in the Age of the Overpraised American," for praise (and its kin, attention-seeking) is our common cultural currency. If, in the twentieth century, "character" gave way to "personality," as Lasch and others such as Richard Sennett and Anthony Giddens argued, then in the twenty-first century "personality" exists only if it is broadcast, rated, praised, and consumed by as many people as possible—put on display for strangers as well as intimates.

—Christine Rosen

Public Diplomacy: Lessons from King and Mandela

Restoring America's image around the world

To be sure, there are manifest differences between the circumstances in which Martin Luther King Jr. and Nelson Mandela operated and the conduct of public diplomacy by the United States government. King and Mandela were individual charismatic figures whose public causes and public messages were intimately connected with their personal styles and characters. By contrast, public diplomacy is conducted by, or at the instigation of, a government. Despite the differences, the efforts of King and Mandela and of public diplomacy share the central concern of effective marketing of public goods: civil rights, racial equality, and the end of apartheid in the King/Mandela context; democratic values, open societies, and competitive markets in the context of U.S. public diplomacy.

—Charles Wolf Jr. & Brian Rosen

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come Kilgore's strength in rural Virginia.

Kilgore is following Bush's strategy. The president won lopsided majorities in rural Virginia and in most suburbs and exurbs, and he did well enough in the three suburban counties outside Washington to win easily. The problem for Kilgore is coming close to Bush's success in rural areas and northern Virginia.

It's certain that Kilgore will win rural majorities. He's from Gate City in mountainous southwest Virginia and speaks with an Appalachian accent. And he's an unswerving conservative. But in a year when Republicans are less energized than in 2004, it may be difficult to stir a large rural turnout. The Republican National Committee will help by deploying its 72-hour plan for turning out Republican voters.

Northern Virginia is a bigger problem. A moderate candidate with no discernible accent is a good fit for the Washington suburbs. That's Kaine. A solid conservative who has a country twang and is linked to Bush isn't. That's Kilgore. Nonetheless, Kilgore won the endorsement of the Fairfax Chamber of Commerce because of his proposal for building more roads in the traffic-clogged suburbs. This surprised even Kilgore.

So long as no issue plays a dominant role in the campaign, Kaine has the advantage. The Kilgore campaign knows this and has responded by concentrating on two issues, the death penalty and illegal immigration. As a former lawyer for death-row convicts, Kaine is highly vulnerable on capital punishment. "There's no great debate on it in Virginia," says Larry Sabato of the University of Virginia. "It's taken for granted." Kilgore says the death penalty is "a 75 percent issue"—75 percent of Virginians favor it.

Kilgore began airing two powerful TV spots last week on the death penalty. One presents a father whose son and daughter-in-law were murdered by a man whom Kaine defended. Another ad features the wife of a slain policeman. Both ads dismiss Kaine's promise that, as governor and despite his Catholic faith, he would carry out the death penalty. The issue is a hot one, in rural areas especially.

Kilgore gives himself credit for discovering the illegal immigration issue, never before an important one in Virginia races. "Everywhere we went in northern Virginia, somebody brought it up," he says. "I went back to the campaign and told them." As attorney general, Kilgore ruled that illegal immigrants were not eligible for in-state college tuition. And this summer he opposed a taxpayer-financed jobs facility in Herndon, near Dulles Airport, for illegals. Kaine favored it. The immigration issue may help Kilgore reach the 45 percent threshold he needs in northern Virginia to win statewide. He's not there yet.

Does Virginia's practice of rejecting governors from the party that holds the White House really matter in 2005? Sabato says it doesn't. "It isn't a rule at all," he says. "It's happenstance." Rep. Tom Davis, a Republican from northern Virginia, says it does indeed matter. "Virginia governor's races are in a sense a midterm election. People give their verdict on the president." Short of a sudden Bush revival, Kilgore better hope Sabato is right and Davis isn't. ♦

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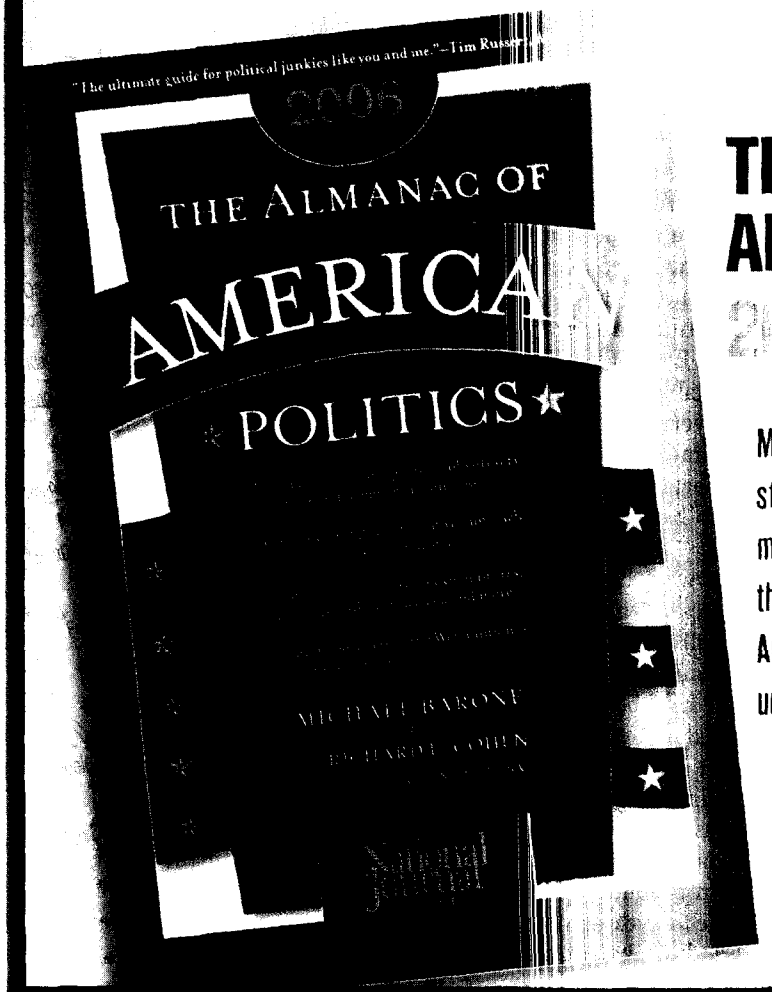

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Next Year in Damascus

Syrian democracy is thriving—in exile.

BY JEFFREY GEDMIN

I ATTENDED A MEETING of about 40 Syrian exile oppositionists in Paris last week. It was a bit surreal. There was the Syrian-Kurd who lives in Germany, for instance, a sweet, grandfatherly fellow with a big white mustache. The guy introduced himself to me, I glanced at his name tag to make sure I got the name, and he responded with a broad smile: "That's not my real name."

You have to assume the regime has an agent here, he told me at breakfast the next morning. There were two younger Syrians from Germany, both from central casting. He: tough looking, five o'clock shadow, long hair, black leather jacket, thirtysomething. She: twentysomething, long black hair, dark haunting eyes, figure like a model. I mentioned over an after-dinner drink (well, I had a beer, she had a juice, he had nothing) what a pity that we were holed up over the weekend outside the city in an airport hotel. She had never been to Paris. No reaction. The next morning a colleague told me that she is off a 28-day hunger strike; he, the same. They were trying to get political prisoners released. Two days at the Charles de Gaulle Hyatt can be sobering.

Farid Ghadry, the convener of the conference, was not kidding when he told me, "We're not playing anymore." Mind you, everyone I met was warm and welcoming. There were Kurds and Sunni (they make up three quarters of the Syrian population) as well as members of the Alawite minority that runs the country. There were pacifists, hawks, and self-described "liberals," whatever that means in this context. There was a lighthearted gentleman from Los Angeles, a Christian Syrian who runs a nail and hair salon. A dual patriot, he joked over dinner that the group ought to FedEx the American Constitution to the people of the Middle East. The European Syrians at our table rolled their eyes. There was a very articulate fellow from the Muslim Brotherhood and at least two important representatives from Syria who had traveled to Paris for the meeting.

Discussions were lively, disagreements sometimes sharp. I listened like a fly on the wall with a kind Syrian colleague translating from the Arabic. The group may have been diverse, but everyone seemed united on one thing: These folks all seem to believe that after 42 years in power, the Baathist order in Damascus is ready for meltdown. You do not have to be a wishful-thinking Syrian to follow the logic of the last couple of years: municipal elections in Saudi Arabia, women now free to vote in Kuwait, opposition candidates for the first time in Egypt, elections and a constitution in Iraq, a revolution in Lebanon. Did anyone really think Syria could stay immune from the trend?

My favorite guide on the matter is Volker Perthes, a Syria expert and head of the largest government-funded think tank in Germany, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik. Perthes argued recently in the *International Herald Tribune* that "Bashar Assad's regime in Syria has reached its end phase. . . . Assad's regime has lost the confidence and support of many of Syria's people and elites." Perthes is an enemy of the Bush doctrine and a sympathizer of the Middle East status quo, so I figure when he raises the white flag there must be something to it. I heard more than one participant in Paris say that the Syrian population has reached the boiling point.

Syrians like Farid Ghadry want to seize the moment. Ghadry is a 51-year-old Syrian American who has helped create something called the Reform Party of Syria. He comes from an influential Syrian family that moved to Lebanon in 1964 and then emigrated to the United States in the mid-1970s. Ghadry studied finance at American University and ran his own business for a time. He also once carried a Saudi passport, until Saudi Arabia revoked his privileges in retaliation for his support for democratic reform. Now Ghadry's passion is to set up a Syrian parliament in exile.

In Paris, I heard participants challenge Ghadry. Some asked whether such a thing should be called instead an assembly or association. After all, a parliament should be elected by the people, they argued. Some participants asked how they, as exiles, can avoid legitimacy problems with countrymen back home. There were discussions about how to garner U.S. and E.U. support. At the same time, one participant told me how acutely aware everyone was that many people inside Syria distrust exiles, especially those thought to be linked to foreign governments, in particular the United States. I asked the young woman from Germany whether she believed there was broad popular support for democracy inside Syria. She paused. Terrible arguments with her brother, a regime supporter who serves in the military, had helped to precipitate her exodus a couple years ago. She told me a strong minority would support democracy right away and that a majority was waiting to be educated and ready to be convinced.

I was struck by the openness of the atmosphere, the sophistication of the discussion. If Ghadry wants to create a democratic forum for oppositionists, it looks good to me at first glance. I was struck by the pragmatism of the Cali-

Jeffrey Gedmin is director of the Aspen Institute Berlin.

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fornian, who kept pushing with a sense of humor for the group to stick to its agenda (no agenda was published, by the way).

It is hard to say exactly where Syria's tipping point may be. It could be the Mehlis report—the inquiry by U.N. investigator Detlev Mehlis into the assassination of former Lebanese prime minister Rafik Hariri. The hard-nosed investigator from Germany will publish a report, which many believe will implicate Damascus in the murder. The suicide (some claim liquidation) of Syria's interior minister Ghazi Kanaan on October 12 piques one's curiosity. Kanaan was responsible for security in Lebanon through 2003 and had just been interviewed by Mehlis. The Mehlis report is due any day, which makes me think that if Ghadry and his colleagues want a parliament in exile, maybe they had better hurry. ♦

The People vs. Beijing

In China, justice is blind, barefoot, and under arrest. BY JENNIFER CHOU

On October 10, a lawyer and three assistants traveled from Beijing to Linyi, a city of 10 million roughly 400 miles southeast of the Chinese capital, to participate in a historic class-action lawsuit. Organized by the charismatic blind activist Chen Guangcheng, 34, the lawsuit targets local officials who compelled people to undergo abortions or vasectomies in overzealous pursuit of China's "one-child" population policy. When the delegation from Beijing reached the place appointed for the hearing, they were informed that a defense attorney had suffered acute appendicitis and the proceeding had been cancelled.

Chen himself had already been sidelined. Held under house arrest since the summer, he had attempted to evade his guards on October 4 in order to meet with three lawyers from Beijing. Quickly surrounded by about 60 men, mostly thugs and gangsters but also some local officials, the lawyers had been beaten, and Chen had been left bleeding in the street.

Jennifer Chou is the director of the Mandarin service at Radio Free Asia.

Eyewitnesses told Radio Free Asia that one of the lawyers, Li Fangping, was pinned to the ground and beaten up, and only narrowly escaped being thrown into the river. Another lawyer, Xu Zhiyong, was also pushed to the ground and beaten. A local resident told RFA that Chen suffered cuts and injuries to his arms and a leg and also lost a tooth. His requests to go to the hospital were denied. Instead, local authorities sent a doctor to check his blood pressure. The three visiting lawyers were interrogated by police for 15 hours, then put on a train for Beijing. In a cell-phone interview with RFA during the train ride back to the capital, Xu Zhiyong reported that the beating incident seemed to him to have been "organized," and that during his interrogation the authorities warned against further interference because the case against Chen "involved state secrets."

The case Chen is attempting to advance against local authorities certainly does. A self-taught jurist and defender of the rights of the disabled, Chen is known around Linyi as the "barefoot lawyer." In March 2005, he began recording testimony from men and women who had been forced to undergo sterilizations or submit to abortions.

Officially, abortions and sterilizations must be voluntary. But in practice, local officials are under intense pressure to meet population-control targets. In an interview in April 2005, one township-level family-planning official told RFA that illegal actions had been taken in Linyi to help meet population targets. "If people have more than the allotted number of children," he explained, "it affects the overall family planning results. Here in Shandong Province, each level of government has the responsibility for overseeing the level below it. From the city level upwards, you start getting fines for exceeding the target."

Chen's work showed that local officials were requiring women expecting a third child to end their pregnancies and their husbands to undergo vasectomies. In some cases, individuals went into hiding rather than submit, only to see their relatives arrested, beaten, and held hostage in city prisons until the escapees turned themselves in. By one estimate based on lawyers' investigations, at least 7,000 people in the Yinan district of Linyi alone were forced to undergo abortions or sterilizations between March and July 2005.

Chen's determination to document and publicize such abuses became something more than an annoyance to Linyi officials when he filed his lawsuit against them. By August, authorities had set up roadblocks near Chen's home in the Dongshigu precinct and posted guards at the local train station to prevent visitors from reaching him. In a mid-August telephone interview with RFA, Chen said he had been threatened and harassed by public security personnel.

Then, in late August, on a night so dark that a blind man was at an advantage over others, Chen managed to slip through the security cordon around his house and travel to Beijing. There, he met with foreign journalists, U.S. embassy officials, and lawyers who had volunteered to help with the class-action suit.

On September 6, however, while

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still in the capital, Chen was abducted in broad daylight by unidentified men as he left an apartment building. He was dragged across a parking lot, punched, gagged, and pushed into the back of an unmarked car with tinted windows. Held in a hotel room for 38 hours, Chen was interrogated, threatened with charges of illegally providing intelligence to foreign countries, and visited by the head of the Linyi public security bureau and the city's deputy mayor. His abductors turned out to be policemen from Linyi.

Chen was escorted back to Dongshigu. In a cell-phone interview with Radio Free Asia after he arrived home, Chen said the authorities had disconnected his landline and confiscated his computer. Shortly after the interview, his cell-phone connection was cut as well.

By then, however, Chen's campaign was apparently already bearing fruit. On September 19, the National Population and Family Planning Commission, a cabinet-level entity that manages population growth in China, announced that it was joining with the Shandong family-planning agency to send teams to investigate claims of forced abortions and sterilizations in Linyi. The commission said in a statement that some local officials in Linyi "did commit practices that violated the law and infringed upon the legitimate rights and interests of citizens while conducting family planning work." It was announced that several health officials had been removed or punished.

Whether this amounted to a real victory, however, remains unclear. In interviews with RFA, Linyi residents and activists insist that, to their knowledge, not a single local official has been sacked or disciplined.

For the moment, then, the contenders are at a sort of stalemate. It won't last. A few years ago, Chen Guangcheng visited Washington. Though slender and soft-spoken, in his sunglasses he looked like a rock star. Now, as he sits at home nursing his injuries, it is safe to assume he is contemplating how he can press forward with his work. ♦

A Not-so-grand Coalition

The Merkel government's murky future.

BY VICTORINO MATUS

Gamma Press / Laurence Chaperon

Angela Merkel takes the helm.

THESE ARE HISTORIC TIMES for Germany. Angela Merkel is set to become the nation's first female chancellor. She'll also be the first chancellor from the former East Germany. So how excited are her constituents? "She's a cold fish," says one of her fellow Christian Democrats (who asked to remain nameless).

Merkel was said to be emotionless when she told reporters last week, "We have decided that I'll be chancellor." Since this marks the Christian Democrats' return to power after a seven-year hiatus, one might have expected balloons and fireworks. But as one political scientist described the scene to the *Washington Post*, "It was like she was announcing her own funeral."

Victorino Matus is an assistant managing editor at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

And, in a way, she was. Merkel planned on leading a "black-yellow" government comprising the Christian Democratic Union (black) and its Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union, along with the Free Democratic party (yellow). All the CDU/CSU needed was 40 percent of the vote on September 18. Instead, they obtained a mere 35.2 percent. And although the FDP won 9.8 percent of the vote, it wasn't nearly enough for a governing majority between them.

After much haggling, the Christian Democrats decided to join forces with their long-standing rival, the Social Democrats, and forge a so-called Grand Coalition. Not that there's anything grand about it. The last such coalition lasted from 1966 to 1969 before getting voted out. No doubt Angela Merkel is conscious of this,

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and the fact that then-chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger never recovered.

Claus Gramckow, the acting director of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in Washington, gives this second Grand Coalition two years at most. "If you look back at the last such coalition, both major parties were looking at each other and positioning themselves for the time afterward. Everybody looked at this as a transitional government." Gramckow, whose foundation is associated with the Free Democratic party, points out how quickly the political landscape can change: "In two years' time, the SPD may go further left and the CDU might seriously look at Jamaica"—not the island, but a coalition of the CDU, FDP, and the Greens (black, yellow, and green being the colors of the Jamaican flag).

Also giving the new regime two years at best is Constanze Stelzenmüller of the German Marshall Fund. "The last Grand Coalition lasted three years, and they were in greater agreement on things than the two sides are today," she says. "What we are talking about now is the [changing] of the foundations of the German welfare state. . . . This is literally about reshaping the postwar republic. Germans don't change that kind of thing lightly and I think it might take more of a crisis or even sort of an economic shock for them to do that."

Of the few issues the coalition partners have agreed upon, two signify compromises by the Christian Democrats. Tax reform, which Merkel campaigned on heavily, has been watered down. In addition, "collective bargaining," or the loosening of labor laws so as to reduce the power of unions, has also been shelved.

"There is still a reluctance in large majorities within the Christian and Social Democrats . . . to implement crucial labor market reform," says Stelzenmüller. "There are entrepreneurial elements in both parties, and I think that includes Angela Merkel, but if she doesn't have enough people to support her on that, it is going to be extremely difficult" to effect change.

According to Marcus Pindur of Deutschlandradio, "The election outcome proved that the German electorate is not ready for change and the initial costs that will involve. Politicians will be very cautious about confronting voters with rapid, meaningful change. Germany is a consensus-oriented society. Change instills fear, not hope."

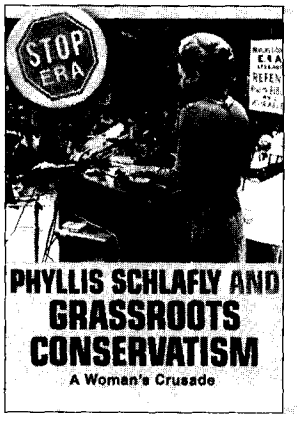
Despite the loss of outgoing chancellor Gerhard Schröder, some are still promoting his incremental approach to reform, known as Agenda 2010. One proponent of this plan is Kurt Beck, the popular governor of Rhineland-Palatinate and deputy chairman of the Social Democratic party. "We had already started major reforms," Beck insists. He credits the competitiveness of the German economy to tax reform and the reduction of wage costs.

Beck is aware of his country's problems (namely, high unemployment and a ballooning deficit) but thinks they are unavoidable: "People are concerned about the future and hesitant to spend. My own state's savings rate is 10 percent, which is extremely high." Also, he points to German reunification. "We've had to do what no other economy has had to do," investing billions of euros each year in former East Germany. "No economy can simply digest this." Beck recalls Chancellor Helmut Kohl's decision at the time of reunification to issue a one-to-one conversion rate between West and East currencies, saying "[Kohl] did it for very good political reasons. . . . I'm not trying to criticize that in retrospect, but that is one of the main reasons we continue to struggle."

One area that will most likely undergo a clear change, however, is relations toward the United States, where it is the Social Democrats who will be conceding ground to their governing partners. "What Schröder did [during the Iraq war] and how he played it—the politicization of the transatlantic relationship—none of that will be there," says Gramckow. Adds Stelzenmüller, "I think what we are going to see is a Christian Democratic chancellor who will be a little more reserved toward Russia, which is all to the good, and a little more reserved toward France, which is also all to the good. For most people these will be invisible movements, but . . . it will be a very important moment."

That moment can't come soon enough. Last week, Schröder addressed a gathering of trade unionists in Hannover, saying, "I do not want to name any catastrophes where you can see what happens if organized state action is absent. I could name countries, but the position I still hold forbids it. But everyone knows I mean America."

Angela Merkel may not be the sunniest politician in Germany. Her country's economy will probably struggle for at least the next two years, and there's no telling how long this Grand Coalition will survive. But considering this daughter of a Protestant minister, who speaks fluent English and has defended America in the past, is set to take over from Schröder, she deserves at the very least a warm White House welcome. ♦



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The White House, the CIA, and the Wilsons

The chain of events that gave rise to the Fitzgerald grand jury investigation

By Stephen F. Hayes

For two years, the political class in Washington has followed with intense interest the story of Joseph Wilson and the events that led to the compromising of his wife's identity and undercover status as a CIA operative. The rest of the country seems to have responded with a collective yawn. That will soon change if special prosecutor Patrick Fitzgerald issues indictments of senior White House aides in his investigation of the alleged leaking of Mrs. Wilson's name.

The narrative constructed to date by the mainstream media is uncomplicated: The White House exaggerated claims of Iraq's efforts to obtain uranium from Niger despite objections from the CIA and the broader U.S. intelligence community. In the late spring of 2003, Joseph Wilson laid bare this White House deception with firsthand accounts of his involvement in the intelligence-gathering. Bush administration officials quickly became obsessed with Wilson, and their anger drove them to retaliate, exposing Wilson's wife, Valerie Plame, by leaking her identity to reporters.

Think this is oversimplified? Here is a *Washington Post* summary of the events leading up to the investigation, from July 27, 2005:

> [Special Prosecutor Patrick Fitzgerald] began his probe in December 2003 to determine whether any government official knowingly leaked Plame's identity as a CIA employee to the media. Plame's husband, former ambassador Joseph C. Wilson IV, has said his wife's career was ruined in retaliation for his public criticism of Bush. In a 2002 trip to Niger at the request of the CIA, Wilson found no evidence to support allegations that Iraq was seeking uranium from that African country and reported back to the agency in February 2002. But nearly a year later, Bush asserted in his State of the Union speech that Iraq had sought uranium from Africa, attributing it to British, not U.S., intelligence.

Simple. Clean. And very misleading. The real story is considerably more complicated.

On October 15, 2001, the CIA received a report from a foreign government service that the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein had struck a deal with the government of Niger to purchase several tons of partially processed uranium, known as "yellowcake." The first report was met with some skepticism. The CIA found the substance of the report plausible but expressed concern about its sourcing. The State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) was more dubious. INR thought it unlikely that the government of Niger would take the substantial risks involved in doing illicit business with a rogue regime. INR analysts also expressed doubt that the transaction could have taken place because the uranium mines in Niger are controlled by a French consortium, which would be reluctant to work with Saddam Hussein—an objection that seems naive with the benefit of hindsight.

On October 18, 2001, the CIA published a Senior Executive Intelligence Bulletin that discussed the finding. "According to a foreign government service, Niger as of early this year planned to send several tons of uranium to Iraq under an agreement concluded late last year." The report noted the sourcing: "There is no corroboration from other sources that such an agreement was reached or that uranium was transferred."

Several months later came a second report, dated February 5, 2002, also from a "foreign government service." It contained more details of the alleged transaction. An official from the CIA's directorate of operations said that the new information came from "a very credible source," and some of the reporting seemed to corroborate earlier accounts of meetings between Nigerien

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officials and Iraqis. The State Department's INR remained skeptical, judging that the Iraqis were unlikely to engage in such illicit trade because they were "bound to be caught."

Analysts at the Defense Intelligence Agency wrote a report using the new information entitled "Niamey signed an agreement to sell 500 tons of uranium a year to Baghdad." It was published internally on February 12, 2002, and included in the daily intelligence briefing prepared for Vice President Dick Cheney. Cheney asked his CIA briefer for more information, including the CIA's analysis of the report. The CIA filed a perfunctory response to the vice president's request, noting some concerns about the report and promising to follow up. It is unclear whether Cheney saw this response.

The promised CIA follow-up came quickly. That same day officials at the agency's Counterproliferation Division discussed how they might investigate further. An employee of the division, Valerie Wilson, suggested the agency send her husband, Joseph Wilson, a former U.S. ambassador to Gabon with experience in Niger, to Africa to make inquiries. In a memo to the deputy director of the Counterproliferation Division, she wrote: "My husband has good relations with the PM [prime minister of Niger] and the former Minister of Mines (not to mention lots of French contacts), both of whom could possibly shed light on this sort of activity." Mrs. Wilson would later say she asked her husband, on behalf of the CIA, if he would investigate "this crazy report" on a uranium deal between Iraq and Niger. Wilson agreed to go.

On February 18, 2002, the U.S. embassy in Niger sent a cable describing a new account of the alleged deal. The account, it said, "provides sufficient detail to warrant another hard look at Niger's uranium sales." The cable further warned against dismissing the allegations prematurely. The following day, back at Langley, representatives of several U.S. intelligence agencies met with Ambassador Wilson to discuss the trip. Contemporaneous notes from an analyst at the State Department's INR suggest that Mrs. Wilson "apparently convened" the meeting. She introduced her husband to the group and left a short time later. Several of the attendees would later recall questioning the value of the proposed trip, noting that the Nigeriens were unlikely to admit dealing with the Iraqis. Still, the CIA approved the trip.

Here is how Wilson would later recall his investigation in his now-famous *New York Times* op-ed.

> In late February 2002, I arrived in Niger's capital, Niamey, where I had been a diplomat in the mid-70s and visited as a National Security Council official in the late 90s. The city was much as I remembered it. Seasonal winds had clogged the air with dust and sand. Through the haze, I could see camel caravans crossing the Niger River (over the John F. Kennedy bridge), the setting sun behind them. Most people had wrapped scarves around their faces to protect against the grit, leaving only their eyes visible.

Wilson met with U.S. Ambassador to Niger Barbara Owens-Kirkpatrick, who, like the State Department's intelligence bureau, thought the alleged sale unlikely. Wilson continued:

> I spent the next eight days drinking sweet mint tea and meeting with dozens of people: current government officials, former government officials, people associated with the country's uranium business. It did not take long to conclude that it was highly doubtful that any such transaction had ever taken place.

Wilson was debriefed by two CIA officials at his home on March 5, 2002. He never filed a written report. The resulting CIA report was published and disseminated in the regular intelligence stream three days later. The report included the unsurprising declaration of former Nigerien prime minister Ibrahim Mayaki that Niger had signed no contracts with rogue states while he served first as foreign minister and then prime minister, from 1996 to 1999. But Mayaki added one tantalizing detail, also included in the CIA report that resulted from Wilson's trip. An Iraqi delegation had visited Niger in 1999 to explore "expanding commercial relations" between Iraq and Niger. Mayaki had met with the Iraqis and later concluded that their request for enhanced trade meant they wanted to discuss purchasing uranium. Mayaki said he had not pursued the matter because such deals were prohibited under U.N. sanctions.

Reactions to the report differed. The INR analyst believed Wilson's report supported his assessment that deals between Iraq and Niger were unlikely. Analysts at the CIA thought the Wilson report added little to the overall knowledge of the Iraq-Niger allegations but noted with particular interest the visit of the Iraqi delegation in 1999. That report may have seemed noteworthy because of the timing of the Iraqi visit. The CIA had several previous reports of Iraq seeking uranium in Africa in 1999, specifically from Congo and Somalia.

On balance, then, Wilson's trip seemed to several analysts to make the original claims of an Iraq-Niger deal more plausible.

Throughout the spring and summer, finished intelligence products from several U.S. intelligence agencies cited the reporting on Iraq and Niger as evidence that the Iraqis were continuing their pursuit of nuclear weapons. Some of these noted the doubts of the skeptics,

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while others were more aggressive in their analysis. A September 2002 DIA paper, for instance, was titled *Iraq's Reemerging Nuclear Program*. It declared: "Iraq has been vigorously trying to procure uranium ore and yellowcake."

The White House began to take its case against Iraq to the American public beginning in the late summer of 2002. Vice President Cheney warned of the threat from Iraq in a stern speech in Nashville on August 26. Behind the scenes at the White House, communications officials developed talking points and fact sheets for administration officials and their surrogates. Most of these included the Iraq-Niger intelligence, and all of them were cleared by the CIA.

The CIA also cleared several references to the Iraq-Niger intelligence—some more direct than others—for use in speeches written for President Bush. This language was cleared by the CIA on September 11, 2002:

> We also know this: within the past few years, Iraq has resumed efforts to purchase large quantities of a type of uranium oxide known as yellowcake, which is an essential ingredient in this [enrichment] process. The regime was caught trying to purchase 500 metric tons of this material. It takes about 10 tons to produce enough enriched uranium for a single nuclear weapon.

Although Bush spoke the following day at the United Nations, he did not use the CIA-approved language.

The first public mention of the intelligence reporting on Iraq and Niger came on September 24, 2002, in a white paper produced by the British government. "There is intelligence that Iraq has sought the supply of significant quantities of uranium from Africa." The CIA had reservations about the British dossier, but not because of its substance. Despite the fact that the British paper did not link the intelligence to Niger, officials at the CIA were concerned that the reference could compromise the source that had provided the intelligence.

That same day, September 24, staffers at the National Security Council (NSC) asked the CIA to clear additional language on Iraq and Niger. "We also have intelligence that Iraq has sought large amounts of uranium and uranium oxide, known as yellowcake, from Africa. Yellowcake is an essential ingredient in the process to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons." The CIA once again approved the language, but once again the president did not use it.

The Senate Select Intelligence Committee met on October 2, 2002, and questioned senior U.S. intelligence officials in closed session about the threat from Iraq. Here, for the first time, a senior CIA official raised doubts about the reporting on Iraq and Niger. Responding to a question from Senator Jon Kyl, who asked if there was anything in the British white paper that the CIA disputed, deputy CIA director John McLaughlin said this:

> The one thing where I think they stretched a little bit beyond where we would stretch is on the points about Iraq seeking uranium from various African locations. We've looked at those reports and we don't think they are very credible. It doesn't diminish our conviction that he's going for nuclear weapons, but I think they reached a little bit on that one point.

It was a strange claim, and it provides a first glimpse of the internal confusion at the CIA on the issue of Iraq and Niger. One day earlier, on October 1, 2002, the CIA had published the National Intelligence Estimate on Iraqi WMD, *Iraq's Continuing Programs for Weapons of Mass Destruction*. This classified document—the U.S. government's official position on Iraqi WMD programs—lifted almost verbatim the aggressive language used in the aforementioned DIA study, *Iraq's Reemerging Nuclear Program*, published just two weeks earlier: "Iraq [has been] vigorously trying to procure uranium ore and yellowcake; acquiring either would shorten the time Baghdad needs to produce nuclear weapons."

The National Intelligence Estimate continued: "A foreign government service reported that as of early 2001, Niger planned to send several tons of 'pure uranium' (probably yellowcake) to Iraq. As of early 2001, Iraq and Niger reportedly were still working out arrangements for this deal, which would be for up to 500 tons of yellowcake. We do not know the status of this arrangement." The NIE included a bullet point about other intelligence on Iraq's pursuit of uranium. "Reports indicate Iraq has also sought uranium ore from Somalia and possibly the Democratic Republic of the Congo." The INR objections to the Iraq-Niger intelligence were included but, because of an editing glitch, were placed some 60 pages away from the consensus view.

Meanwhile, the Bush administration continued its public relations campaign to demonstrate that Saddam Hussein was a threat. The White House was finalizing the text of a speech the president was scheduled to deliver in Cincinnati on October 7, 2002, on the eve of the congressional vote to authorize the use of force against Iraq. The speechwriters continued their regular back and forth with the CIA for clearance of potentially sensitive language. On draft six of the speech, the CIA objected to this sentence: "The [Iraqi] regime has been caught attempting to purchase up to 500 metric tons of uranium oxide from Africa—an essential ingredient in the enrichment process."

Had something changed? The National Intelligence

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Estimate published just three days earlier included language as aggressive as the language proposed for the Cincinnati speech. Was it a matter of classification? The NIE was classified, while the language in the speech was meant for public consumption. And the CIA had been nervous about the British white paper. Still, twice in September the CIA had cleared similar language for a presidential address.

The White House sent the next iteration of the speech to the CIA for clearance, and the language on Iraq and Africa had not been taken out. This oversight prompted a phone call from CIA Director George Tenet to Deputy National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley. Tenet later recalled telling Hadley that "the reporting was weak," and that the line shouldn't be used in the Cincinnati speech. Hadley removed the disputed language, and the CIA later faxed over its reasoning for insisting on the change.

Then there occurred a communications breakdown that would prove costly. For reasons still unexplained, it appears that these objections were not communicated down the chain. The two officials responsible for coordinating the translation of intelligence into public rhetoric—Alan Foley, a top CIA nonproliferation expert, and Robert Joseph, a special assistant to the president for nonproliferation and a senior director at the NSC—were kept in the dark. In the months to come, Foley and Joseph would proceed unaware that any substantive objections had been raised to the Niger intelligence.

In an ironic twist that underscores the chronic miscommunication, on the very day President Bush delivered the Cincinnati speech—making no mention of Iraq's seeking uranium in Africa—the CIA once again approved language for a White House paper claiming Iraq had "sought uranium from Africa."

Two days later, on October 9, 2002, the vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Jay Rockefeller, spoke of the Iraqi threat in explaining his vote to authorize the use of force. "There is unmistakable evidence that Saddam Hussein is working aggressively to develop nuclear weapons and will likely have nuclear weapons within the next five years. And that may happen sooner if he can obtain access to enriched uranium from foreign sources—something that is not that difficult in the current world." (Rockefeller would be one of 77 senators voting to authorize the use of force against Iraq. The vote in the House would be 296-133.)

Then the story took a bizarre turn. That same day, October 9, an Italian journalist walked into the U.S. embassy in Rome and delivered a set of documents purportedly showing that Iraq had indeed purchased uranium from Niger. The embassy provided the documents to the State Department and the CIA. At State, an INR analyst almost instantly suspected the documents might be forgeries. Although several different CIA divisions received copies of the documents, the agency provided no immediate evaluation of them and did not identify them as likely fabrications.

Two events in the fall of 2002 seemed to enhance the credibility of the initial reporting on an Iraq-Niger deal. First, a French diplomat told the State Department that his government had received additional, credible reporting on the transaction and had concluded that the earlier reports were true. A second report, this one from the U.S. Navy, suggested that uranium being transferred from Niger to Iraq had been discovered in a warehouse in Cotonou, Benin. Although that report indicated that the broker for the deal was willing to talk about it, he was never contacted by the CIA or military intelligence.

On December 7, 2002, Iraq submitted to the United Nations an 11,000-page document on its weapons programs, as required by U.N. Resolution 1441. The CIA prepared the U.S. response to the Iraqi declaration. Among the scores of objections was the fact that Iraq had failed to account for its attempts to acquire uranium from Africa.

In the days leading up to the president's State of the Union speech, the Iraq-uranium-Africa claim was used repeatedly by senior U.S. officials. A January 23 speech by Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz noted Iraq's failure to admit its effort to procure uranium from abroad; U.N. ambassador John Negroponte referenced it in a speech at the Security Council; the State Department included it in a fact sheet published on the department website; Secretary of State Colin Powell even used a generalized version of it in a January 26, 2003, speech at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland: "Why is Iraq still trying to procure uranium and the special equipment to transform it into material for nuclear weapons?"

Even as some CIA officials expressed doubts about the original Iraq-Niger reporting and the INR analyst quietly voiced his concerns about a potential hoax after careful examination of the Iraq-Niger documents passed to the U.S. embassy in Rome, the CIA approved Iraq-Niger language for the White House. Although George Tenet had been given an early draft of the State of the Union address, he never read it. As Alan Foley from the CIA and Bob Joseph from the NSC vetted the language for Bush's speech, Foley raised a concern about the Iraq-Niger wording. The agency was concerned—as it had been in the past—about potentially compromising

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sources and methods by disclosing the Iraq-Africa intelligence. To ease the CIA's anxiety about sources and methods, Joseph passed on a suggestion from the White House communications office: Source the reporting to the British because their government had already made the argument publicly in the white paper it had issued some five months earlier. Importantly, the CIA never objected to including the Iraq-Africa language in the State of the Union on the grounds that the information was not reliable.

That's worth repeating: *The CIA never objected to including the Iraq-Africa language in the State of the Union on the grounds that the information was unreliable.*

At the same time the White House speechwriting staff was preparing the State of the Union for delivery January 28, 2003, Deputy National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley and Vice President Cheney's chief of staff, Lewis "Scooter" Libby, were gathering materials for the upcoming U.S. presentation on Iraq to the U.N. Security Council. The CIA would provide material for three six-inch briefing books on WMD, Iraq and Terrorism, and Iraqi Human Rights Abuses. Among the WMD materials, in a memo dated January 24, 2003, was the language from the 2002 National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq's "vigorous" attempts to procure uranium from Africa.

On January 28, President Bush delivered his State of the Union. Among his many claims that night was this one: "The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa."

In the meantime, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the U.N. body responsible for monitoring nuclear proliferation, began to ask the United States and Britain for more information on the claims about Iraq's seeking uranium from Africa. In early February, the U.S. government made available to the IAEA the contents of its original reporting on the issue as well as the documents delivered by the Italian journalist to the U.S. embassy in Rome.

Colin Powell's U.N. presentation did not make reference to the Iraq-Africa intelligence because, according to recollections of a State Department staffer, there had been no new developments. But the claim did not end with the State of the Union. In an op-ed that ran in the *Chicago Tribune* on February 16, 2003, Hadley reiterated it: "Iraq has an active procurement program. According to British intelligence, the regime has tried to acquire natural uranium from abroad."

On March 3, 2003, the IAEA shared with the U.S. government its assessment that the October 2002 documents on an Iraq-Niger deal for uranium were forgeries. The following day, the French government announced that the assessment it had previously given the United States—that an Iraq-Niger deal had taken place—was based on the same forged documents. (Some current and former Bush administration officials remain convinced that the French role in this matter was no accident. They speculate that French intelligence, seeking to embarrass the U.S. government, may have been the original source of the bad documents. An FBI investigation into the matter continues.)

As the IAEA findings made their way into the U.S. media, the White House began to understand that the forgeries would be a problem. When the war started later that month, all the focus shifted to the fighting in Iraq. It would be a temporary reprieve.

On May 6, 2003, *New York Times* columnist Nicholas Kristof examined prewar U.S. claims of WMD in Iraq. His article included this curious passage:

> I'm told by a person involved in the Niger caper that more than a year ago the vice president's office asked for an investigation of the uranium deal, so a former U.S. ambassador to Africa was dispatched to Niger. In February 2002, according to someone present at the meetings, that envoy reported to the C.I.A. and State Department that the information was unequivocally wrong and that the documents had been forged.
>
> The envoy reported, for example, that a Niger minister whose signature was on one of the documents had in fact been out of office for more than a decade. In addition, the Niger mining program was structured so that the uranium diversion had been impossible. The envoy's debunking of the forgery was passed around the administration and seemed to be accepted—except that President Bush and the State Department kept citing it anyway.

It was the first of many times Joseph Wilson would tell his story to a reporter and the first of many times he would overstate his role and invent his supposed findings. The White House didn't pay much attention to the Kristof column. Few people knew about Wilson and his CIA-sponsored trip, and those who did know dismissed Wilson's claims as wildly inaccurate. Wilson, after all, had gone to Niger and returned some eight months before the U.S. government ever came into possession of the forged documents.

But if the White House shrugged off the story, Walter Pincus of the *Washington Post* did not. On June 12, 2003, Pincus published a story that "kicked everything off," according to a former White House official. Pincus wrote:

> During his trip, the CIA's envoy spoke with the president of Niger and other Niger officials mentioned as being

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involved in the Iraqi effort, some of whose signatures purportedly appeared on the documents.

After returning to the United States, the envoy reported to the CIA that the uranium-purchase story was false, the sources said. Among the envoy's conclusions was that the documents may have been forged because the "dates were wrong and the names were wrong," the former U.S. government official said.

Two days after the *Washington Post* story, on June 14, Wilson spoke at a forum sponsored by the Education for Peace in Iraq Center (EPIC). Although Wilson never told the gathering he was the source for the stories about "the ambassador's" trip to Africa, his comments revealed intimate knowledge of the mission.

> I just want to assure you that that American ambassador who has been cited in reports in the *New York Times* and in the *Washington Post*, and now in the *Guardian* over in London, who actually went over to Niger on behalf of the government—not of the CIA but of the government—and came back in February of 2002 and told the government that there was nothing to this story, later called the government after the British white paper was published and said you all need to do some fact-checking and make sure the Brits aren't using bad information in the publication of the white paper, and who called both the CIA and the State Department after the president's State of the Union and said to them you need to worry about the political manipulation of intelligence if, in fact, the president is talking about Niger when he mentions Africa.
>
> That person was told by the State Department that, well, you know, there's four countries that export uranium. That person had served in three of those countries, so he knew a little bit about what he was talking about when he said you really need to worry about this. But I can assure you that that retired American ambassador to Africa, as Nick Kristof called him in his article, is also pissed off, and has every intention of ensuring that this story has legs. And I think it does have legs. It may not have legs over the next two or three months, but when you see American casualties moving from one to five or to ten per day, and you see Tony Blair's government fall because in the U.K. it is a big story, there will be some ramifications, I think, here in the United States. So I hope that you will do everything you can to keep the pressure on. Because it is absolutely bogus for us to have gone to war the way we did.

The website for EPIC includes a biography of Wilson under the June 14, 2003, event that concludes with this sentence: "He is married to the former Valerie Plame and has four children."

Wilson also peddled his story to John Judis and Spencer Ackerman at the *New Republic*. And as in the whispered "telephone" game that kids play around the campfire, the story became more distorted the more it was told. In the *New Republic*'s version, Vice President Cheney received the forged documents directly from the British a year before Bush spoke the "16 words" in the January 2003 State of the Union. Cheney then had given the information to the CIA, which in turn asked a prominent diplomat, who had served as ambassador to three African countries, to investigate. He returned after a visit to Niger in February 2002 and reported to the State Department and the CIA that the documents were forgeries. The CIA circulated the ambassador's report to the vice president's office, the ambassador confirms to TNR. But, after a British dossier was released in September detailing the purported uranium purchase, administration officials began citing it anyway, culminating in its inclusion in the State of the Union. "They knew the Niger story was a flat-out lie," the former ambassador tells TNR.

It should be clear by now that the only one telling flat-out lies was Joseph Wilson. Again, *Wilson's trip to Niger took place in February 2002, some eight months before the U.S. government received the phony Iraq-Niger documents in October 2002*. So it is not possible, as he told the *Washington Post*, that he advised the CIA that "the dates were wrong and the names were wrong." And it is not possible, as Wilson claimed to the *New York Times*, that he debunked the documents as forgeries.

That was hardly Wilson's only fabrication. He would also tell reporters that his wife had nothing to do with his trip to Niger and, as noted in the *New Republic* article, that Vice President Cheney's office had seen the report of his findings. Both claims were false.

It seems that very few people paid attention to the CIA's report on Wilson's trip to Niger. And those who did found that his account—particularly his revelation of the meeting between Mayaki and the Iraqis in 1999—supported the original reporting that Iraq had sought uranium from Niger.

If the White House launched a campaign to counter the claims Wilson was making to columnists like Kristof, it doesn't appear to have been very comprehensive. Officials who worked on other aspects of the Iraq WMD story say they do not recall any coordinated effort to correct Wilson's misrepresentations. And, in any case, the results were hardly what you'd expect from a White House offensive. Several reporters known to have spoken with Karl Rove and Scooter Libby, the senior White House officials apparently at the center of the current investigation, have testified that they did not learn of Plame's identity or status from either person.

White House communications officials had good reason to be distracted. Behind the headlines and intensifying public scrutiny of the case for war in Iraq, a leak war had erupted. David Sanger, a veteran reporter for the *New York Times*, had been calling the White House as the *Times* prepared a comprehensive report on the administration's prewar

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claims about Iraqi WMD. Sasnger wanted to know why Colin Powell hadn't made the same claim about uranium from Africa in his U.N. presentation that Bush had made one week before. Sanger also inquired about whether the CIA had warned Bush against using the uranium reference.

The White House scrambled to come up with a chronology for Sanger. Although the language in the State of the Union had its roots in intelligence on Iraq and uranium from October 2001, a full year before the U.S. government had even received the forged documents, Sanger's questions ignited a debate within the administration about whether to back off the suddenly controversial "16 words."

Then, on July 6, the *New York Times* published Wilson's now-famous op-ed. That account differs in important ways from the story Wilson had anonymously provided the *Times*, the *Washington Post* and the *New Republic*. Wilson acknowledged for the first time that he had not seen any forged document. "As for the actual memorandum, I never saw it. But news accounts have pointed out that the documents had glaring errors—they were signed, for example, by officials who were no longer in government—and were probably forged." Wilson acknowledged the same thing in an appearance that morning on *Meet the Press*, saying, "I had not, of course, seen the documents."

Oops.

It may well have been the case that Wilson was skeptical of the original intelligence on the alleged Iraq-Niger uranium deal, though it's worth remembering that this is not how CIA analysts recall his debriefing. But Wilson's charge—and one of the reasons it survives today—was not merely that his analysis differed from that of other analysts or even of Bush administration policymakers. His charge was more specific and not coincidentally more damning: The reason he was courted to write an op-ed for the *New York Times* and to appear on *Meet the Press* was not that his analysis of the Niger intelligence differed from that of the CIA or of Bush administration policymakers. No, Wilson was given those platforms because he was the man with the proof. Joseph Wilson alone, in his telling, could demonstrate that the Bush administration intentionally deceived the country to go to war.

Wilson's new version of his story caused a stir, but White House reporters at the press gaggle the following day seemed more concerned with unrest in Liberia and the president's imminent departure for Africa. It wasn't until the middle of the briefing that White House spokesman Ari Fleischer got his first question about Wilson.

Q: Can you give us the White House account of Ambassador Wilson's account of what happened when he went to Niger and investigated the suggestions that Niger was passing yellowcake to Iraq? I'm sure you saw the piece yesterday in the *New York Times*.

FLEISCHER: Well, there is zero, nada, nothing new here. Ambassador Wilson, other than the fact that now people know his name, has said all this before. But the fact of the matter is in his statements about the vice president—the vice president's office did not request the mission to Niger. The vice president's office was not informed of his mission and he was not aware of Mr. Wilson's mission until recent press accounts—press reports accounted for it.

Fleischer fielded several additional questions before calling on David Sanger, the *New York Times* reporter who had been seeking clarification from the White House on the broader "16 words" allegation.

SANGER: I just want to take you back to your answer before, when you said you have long acknowledged that the information on yellowcake turned out to be incorrect. If I remember right, you only acknowledged the Niger part of it as being incorrect—I think what the—

FLEISCHER: That's correct.

SANGER: I think what the president said during his State of the Union was he—

FLEISCHER: When I refer to yellowcake I refer to Niger. The question was on the context of Ambassador Wilson's mission.

SANGER: So are you saying the president's broader reference to Africa, which included other countries that were named in the NIE, were those also incorrect?

FLEISCHER: Well, I think the president's statement in the State of the Union was much broader than the Niger question.

SANGER: Is the president's statement correct?

FLEISCHER: I'm referring specifically to the Niger piece when I say that.

SANGER: Do you hold that the president—when you look at the totality of the sentence that the president uttered that day on the subject, are you confident that he was correct?

FLEISCHER: Yes, I see nothing that goes broader that would indicate that there was no basis to the president's broader statement. But specifically on the yellowcake, the yellowcake for Niger, we've acknowledged that that information did turn out to be a forgery.

This was a mistake. The White House had not, in fact, stated that all of the Niger reporting was wrong, only that the documents delivered to the U.S. Embassy in Rome in October 2002 had been forgeries. But Fleischer failed to make that distinction, and his answers implied that the "16 words" had been based on the forged documents and that the White House no longer stood by those 16 words. Fleischer ended the briefing

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after promising to provide Sanger a definitive answer.

Fleischer's briefing meant that the White House and CIA officials who had been working to hammer out official language on the "16 words" had to move quickly. The guidance distributed to the press that day said:

> We now know that documents alleging a transaction between Iraq and Niger had been forged. The other reporting that suggested Iraq had tried to obtain uranium from Africa is not detailed or specific enough for us to be certain that such attempts were in fact made.

For much of the week, leaks and counterleaks appeared on the front pages of the nation's newspapers. The CIA told reporters that the agency had long been suspicious of the underlying intelligence on the Iraq-Niger deal. The administration told reporters that the CIA continued to provide intelligence reporting on the deal up to and through the State of the Union speech. A *New York Times* article called it "an unusual exercise in finger-pointing" within the Bush administration.

On July 11, 2003, Tenet released a statement in which he declared, "I am responsible for the approval process in my agency." That same day, President Bush and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice told reporters traveling with the president in Africa that the CIA had approved the language in the State of the Union. "I gave a speech to the nation that was cleared by the intelligence services," said Bush. Rice added: "The CIA cleared the speech in its entirety."

Three days later, Robert Novak wrote a column in which he named Joseph Wilson's wife, "CIA operative" Valerie Plame. Novak sourced this information to "two senior administration officials." The CIA concluded that the reference had compromised Plame's undercover status and asked the Justice Department to investigate. On December 30, 2003, Attorney General John Ashcroft recused himself in the matter, and Deputy Attorney General James Comey named U.S. attorney Patrick Fitzgerald special prosecutor. Scores of administration officials and some journalists have testified before the grand jury. It was for initially declining to testify that *New York Times* reporter Judith Miller spent 85 days in jail. The conclusion of the investigation appears imminent.

Whatever Fitzgerald determines about the veracity of individuals in the administration or the press, in their statements to each other or to the grand jury, it is not possible to understand the current investigation without appreciating the history recounted here.

Whatever Fitzgerald determines about the veracity of individuals in the administration or the press, in their statements to each other or to the grand jury, it is not possible to understand the current investigation without appreciating the history recounted here.

On July 22, 2005, the *New York Times* published a lengthy, front-page article detailing the work of two senior Bush administration officials, Karl Rove and Scooter Libby, on the Niger-uranium story. A seemingly exhaustive timeline ran alongside the piece. In 19 bullet points, the *Times* provided its readers in considerable detail with what it regarded as the highlights of the story. The timeline traces events from the initial request for more information on the alleged Iraqi inquiries in Africa to Joseph Wilson's trip to Niger; from the now-famous "16 words" in President Bush's 2003 State of the Union to the details of White House telephone logs; from Bush administration claims that Karl Rove was not involved in the leak to the naming of special prosecutor Patrick Fitzgerald, and on from there to the dates that White House officials testified before the grand jury.

As I say, seemingly exhaustive. But there is one curious omission: July 7, 2004. On that date, the bipartisan Senate Select Intelligence Committee released a 511-page report on the intelligence that served as the foundation for the Bush administration's case for war in Iraq. The Senate report includes a 48-page section on Wilson that demonstrates, in painstaking detail, that virtually everything Joseph Wilson said publicly about his trip, from its origins to his conclusions, was false.

This is not a minor detail. The Senate report, which served as the source for much of the chronology in this article, is the definitive study of the events leading up to the compromising of Valerie Plame. The committee staff, both Democrats and Republicans, read all of the intelligence. They saw all of the documents. They interviewed all of the characters. And every member of the committee from both parties signed the report.

It is certainly the case that the media narrative is much more sensational than the Senate report. A story about malfeasance is perhaps more interesting than a story about incompetence. A story about deliberate White House deception is perhaps more interesting than a story about bureaucratic miscommunication. A story about retaliation is perhaps more interesting than a story about clarification.

But sometimes the boring stories have an additional virtue. They're true. ♦

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Fighters, Not First Responders

The case against a larger domestic role for the U.S. military

By Mackubin Thomas Owens

The magnitude of the Katrina disaster and the subsequent failure of local, state, and federal agencies to react in a timely manner have led some to call for an expansion of the military's role in domestic affairs. "The question raised by the Katrina fiasco," writes Daniel Henninger of the *Wall Street Journal*, "is whether the threat from madmen and nature is now sufficiently huge in its potential horror and unacceptable loss that we should modify existing jurisdictional authority to give the Pentagon functional first-responder status."

The president has apparently agreed that the issue deserves a look. In a national address last month, President Bush asked Congress to consider a larger role for U.S. armed forces in responding to natural disasters. "It is now clear that a challenge on this scale requires greater federal authority and a broader role for the armed forces—the institution of our government most capable of massive logistical operations on a moment's notice."

In a recent press briefing, he returned to the issue: "Is there a natural disaster—of a certain size—that would then enable the Defense Department to become the lead agency in coordinating and leading the response effort? That's going to be a very important consideration for Congress to think about."

The president is even contemplating using the military to address public health crises, specifically an outbreak of avian flu. In response to a reporter's question, President Bush suggested that an outbreak might trigger the need for a quarantine. "And who is best to be able to effect a quarantine? One option is the use of a military that's able to plan and move." He continued by observing that, as governor of Texas, he didn't like the idea of the president telling him how to command the Texas National Guard. "But Congress needs to take a look at circumstances that may need to vest the capacity of the president to move beyond that debate. And one such catastrophe, or one such challenge, could be an avian flu outbreak."

Some in Congress had already raised the issue. Even before the president's speech, John Warner of Virginia, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, wrote a letter to Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, saying that his committee would be looking into "the entire legal framework governing a president's power to use the regular armed forces to restore public order in . . . a large-scale, protracted emergency." He asked the secretary of defense to take the issue under consideration. In response, Rumsfeld informed Warner that the Pentagon was reviewing pertinent laws, including the 1878 Posse Comitatus Act, to determine whether revisions that would give the military a greater role during major domestic disasters are needed. In response, Admiral Timothy J. Keating, commander of U.S. northern command, the joint command responsible for homeland defense, has proposed that the military create an active-duty force specifically trained and equipped to assist the National Guard in response to major national disasters.

On the one hand, the call for increasing the military's role in domestic affairs is understandable. The military can respond to disaster in ways that local, state, and other federal agencies can't. On the other hand, those who demand a greater domestic role for the military must consider the impact of such a step on healthy civil-military relations in the United States. In addition, they must also take account of the fear, traditionally expressed by officers, that involving the military in domestic tasks will undermine the war-fighting capabilities of their units and cause their "fighting spirit" to decline.

A decade ago, an Air Force staff judge advocate officer painted a disturbing picture of future civil-military relations if the military became involved in domestic affairs. Charles Dunlap described his article, "The Origins of the American Military Coup of 2012," published in

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the Winter 1992-93 issue of *Parameters*, the professional journal of the U.S. Army, as a "darkly imagined excursion into the future." The article takes the form of a letter from an officer awaiting execution for opposing the military coup that has taken place in the United States. The letter argues that the coup was the result of trends identifiable as early as 1992, including the massive diversion of military forces to civilian uses.

In words eerily similar to those we hear in today's debate, Dunlap's doomed officer opines that in the 1990s Americans became disillusioned with the apparent inability of elected government to solve the nation's dilemmas. "We were looking for someone or something that could produce workable answers. The one institution of government in which the people retained faith was the military." Buoyed by the military's obvious competence in the first Gulf War, the public increasingly turned to it for help. Americans called for an acceleration of trends begun in the 1980s: tasking the military with a variety of new, nontraditional missions, and vastly escalating its commitment to formerly ancillary duties.

> Though not obvious at the time, the cumulative effect of these new responsibilities was to incorporate the military into the political process to an unprecedented degree. These additional assignments also had the perverse effect of diverting focus and resources from the military's central mission of combat training and war-fighting.

What Dunlap describes in this article is the "salami slice" method of overthrowing democratic government: Instead of a *coup d'état* that seizes the government all at once, power is taken one slice at a time. The military is asked to do more and more in the domestic arena and finally concludes that it might as well run the government as a whole. This coup is the result of an accretion of power by the military. But in the end, the result is the same: a military good at maintaining itself in power, but unable to defeat a foreign enemy.

Dunlap's essay was the opening shot of a decades-long debate over the state of American civil-military relations. During the 1990s, a number of events led observers to conclude that all was not well with civil-military relations in America. Some of the most highly publicized events reflected cultural tensions between the military as an institution and liberal civilian society, mostly having to do with women in combat and open homosexuals in the military.

But more serious examples of civil-military tensions included the military's resistance (foot-dragging) to involvement in constabulary missions and the charge that General Colin Powell, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was illegitimately invading civilian turf by publicly advancing opinions on foreign policy. In addition, there were many instances of downright hostility on the part of the military toward President Bill Clinton, whose anti-military stance as a young man during the Vietnam war did not endear him to soldiers. Many interpreted such hostility as just one more indication that the military had become too partisan (Republican) and politicized.

These events generated an often-acrimonious public debate in which a number of highly respected observers concluded that American civil-military relations were in crisis. In the words of Richard Kohn, a distinguished professor of history at the University of North Carolina and one of the country's foremost experts on the nexus between civilians and the uniformed military in the United States, civil-military relations during this period were "extraordinarily poor, in many respects as low as in any period of American peacetime history."

Some observers claimed that the civil-military tensions of the 1990s were a temporary phenomenon, attributable to the perceived antimilitary character of the Clinton administration. But these tensions did not disappear with the election and reelection of George W. Bush as president. If anything, relations have become more strained as a result of clashes between the uniformed services and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld over efforts to "transform" the U.S. military and the planning and conduct of U.S. military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Much of the uniformed services' campaign against Rumsfeld has been conducted by leaks to the press.

All of these tensions will be exacerbated if the statutes and regulations are changed to permit increased military participation in domestic affairs. Even if we don't reach the point described by Dunlap, it is almost a given that the military will be politicized to a dangerous extent. Indeed, the main reason Congress passed the Posse Comitatus Act in 1878 was concern that the Army at the time was being increasingly politicized.

A perusal of recent articles reveals the undeniable fact that most commentators do not understand the Posse Comitatus Act at all. The Posse Comitatus Act does not constitute a bar to the use of the military in domestic affairs. It does, however, insist that such use be authorized only by the highest constitutional authority: Congress and the president.

Contrary to what many Americans believe, the Constitution itself does not prohibit the use of the military in domestic affairs. Indeed, the U.S. military has intervened in domestic affairs some 167 times since the founding of the Republic. In the Anglo-American tradition, the first line of defense in enforcing the law was the *posse comita-*

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tus, literally "the power of the county," understood to be the people at large who constituted the constabulary of the shire. When order was threatened, the "shire-reeve" or sheriff would raise the "hue and cry," and all citizens who heard it were bound to render assistance in apprehending a criminal or maintaining order. Thus, the sheriff in the American West would "raise a posse" to capture a lawbreaker.

If the *posse comitatus* was not able to maintain order, the force of first resort was the militia of the various states, the precursor of today's National Guard. In 1792, Congress passed two laws that permitted implementation of Congress's constitutional power "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions." They were the Militia Act and the "Calling Forth" Act, which gave the president limited authority to employ the militia in the event of domestic emergencies. In 1807, at the behest of President Thomas Jefferson, who was troubled by his inability to use the regular Army as well as the militia to deal with the Burr Conspiracy of 1806-07, Congress also declared the Army to be an enforcer of federal laws, not only as a separate force, but as a part of the *posse comitatus*.

Accordingly, troops were often used in the antebellum period to enforce the fugitive slave laws and suppress domestic violence. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 permitted federal marshals to call on the *posse comitatus* to aid in returning a slave to his owner. In 1854, Franklin Pierce's attorney general, Caleb Cushing, issued an opinion that included the Army in the *posse comitatus*, writing that

> A marshal of the United States, when opposed in the execution of his duty, by unlawful combinations, has authority to summon the entire able-bodied force of his precinct, as a posse comitatus. The authority comprehends not only bystanders and other citizens generally, but any and all organized armed forces, whether militia of the states, or officers, soldiers, sailors, and marines of the United States.

Thus, in April 1851, federal marshals in Boston arrested Thomas Sims, a 17-year-old slave who had escaped from Georgia. He was held in a courthouse guarded by police and soldiers for nine days while his case was argued before a federal commissioner. When the commissioner decided in favor of Sims's owner, 300 armed deputies and soldiers took him from the courthouse before dawn and marched him to the Boston Navy Yard, where another 250 soldiers waited to place him aboard a ship that would carry him back into bondage.

In May 1854, a deputy marshal arrested Anthony Burns, an escaped Virginia slave, also in Boston. While a federal commissioner decided Burns's fate, abolitionists tried to rescue him. President Pierce sent federal troops to Boston to keep the peace, admonishing the district attorney to "incur any expense to insure the execution of the law." Troops were also used to suppress domestic violence between pro- and antislavery factions in "Bloody Kansas." Soldiers and Marines participated in the capture of John Brown at Harpers Ferry in 1859.

After the Civil War, the U.S. Army was involved in supporting the Reconstruction governments in the southern states, and it was the Army's role in preventing the intimidation of black voters and Republicans at southern polling places that led to the passage of the Posse Comitatus Act. In the election of 1876, President Ulysses S. Grant deployed Army units as a *posse comitatus* in support of federal marshals working to maintain order at the polls. In that election, Rutherford B. Hayes defeated Samuel Tilden with the disputed electoral votes of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida. Southerners claimed that the Army had been misused to "rig" the election.

While the Posse Comitatus Act is usually portrayed as the triumph of the Democratic party in ending Reconstruction, the Army welcomed the legislation. The use of soldiers as a posse removed them from their own chain of command and placed them in the uncomfortable position of taking orders from local authorities who had an interest in the disputes that provoked the unrest in the first place. As a result, many officers came to believe that the involvement of the Army in domestic policing was corrupting the institution.

And this is the crux of the issue. The Posse Comitatus Act (Section 1385, Title 18 U.S.C.) prohibits the use of the military to aid civil authorities, in enforcing the law or suppressing civil disturbances *except in cases and under circumstances expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress*. As Robert W. Coakley, one of the foremost authorities on the use of the military in domestic affairs, has written:

> All that [the Posse Comitatus Act] really did *was to repeal a doctrine whose only substantial foundation was an opinion by an attorney general* [Caleb Cushing], *and one that had never been tested in the courts. The president's power to use both regulars and militia remained undisturbed by the Posse Comitatus Act. . . .* But the Posse Comitatus Act did mean that *troops could not be used on any lesser authority than that of the president* and he must issue a "cease and desist" proclamation before he did so. Commanders in the field would no longer have any discretion, but must wait for orders from Washington [italics added].

The fact is that the Posse Comitatus Act, in conjunction with the so-called Insurrection Act, provides the president with all the power he needs to employ the mili-

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tary in domestic affairs if he believes it necessary. Although intended as a tool for suppressing rebellion when circumstances "make it impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States in any State or Territory by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings," presidents used this power on five occasions during the 1950s and '60s to counter resistance to desegregation decrees in the South. Reports indicate that President Bush chose not to invoke the Insurrection Act in the case of Katrina because of concerns that such an action would have been viewed as federal bullying of a Southern Democratic governor.

Do we really want to return to the days when "lesser authority" than the president could use the military for domestic purposes? The issue here is not the Posse Comitatus Act but the quality of American civil-military relations and a healthy military establishment.

The U.S. military is currently stretched thin by missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. But the issue goes beyond stress on the force, active and reserve. History teaches that increasing the use of the military for domestic purposes adversely affects its ability to wage war. In a 1991 commentary on the relationship between pre-World War II Canadian military policy and the subsequent battlefield disasters the Canadians suffered at the beginning of the war, the late Harry Summers warned that when militaries lose sight of their purpose, the results can be catastrophic.

The U.S. military is structured to play "away games." It is good at protecting the United States by threatening the sanctuary of adversaries abroad. There are, of course, things the military can and should do to enhance the security of the American homeland, but we should not be blurring further the distinction between military activities and domestic affairs. To paraphrase what Caspar Weinberger said in opposition to the use of the military in the drug war, weakening the statutes that govern the use of the military in domestic affairs in response to Hurricane Katrina makes for terrible national security policy, poor politics, and guaranteed military failure sometime in the future.

The response to Katrina indicates that procedures at all levels of government must be streamlined. But the maintenance of both healthy civil-military relations and a combat-ready force dictates that we not repeal or modify the Posse Comitatus Act or give the president power beyond that of the Insurrection Act. And by no means should we expect the military to go beyond its current mission of supporting civil authorities in the event of domestic emergencies. ♦

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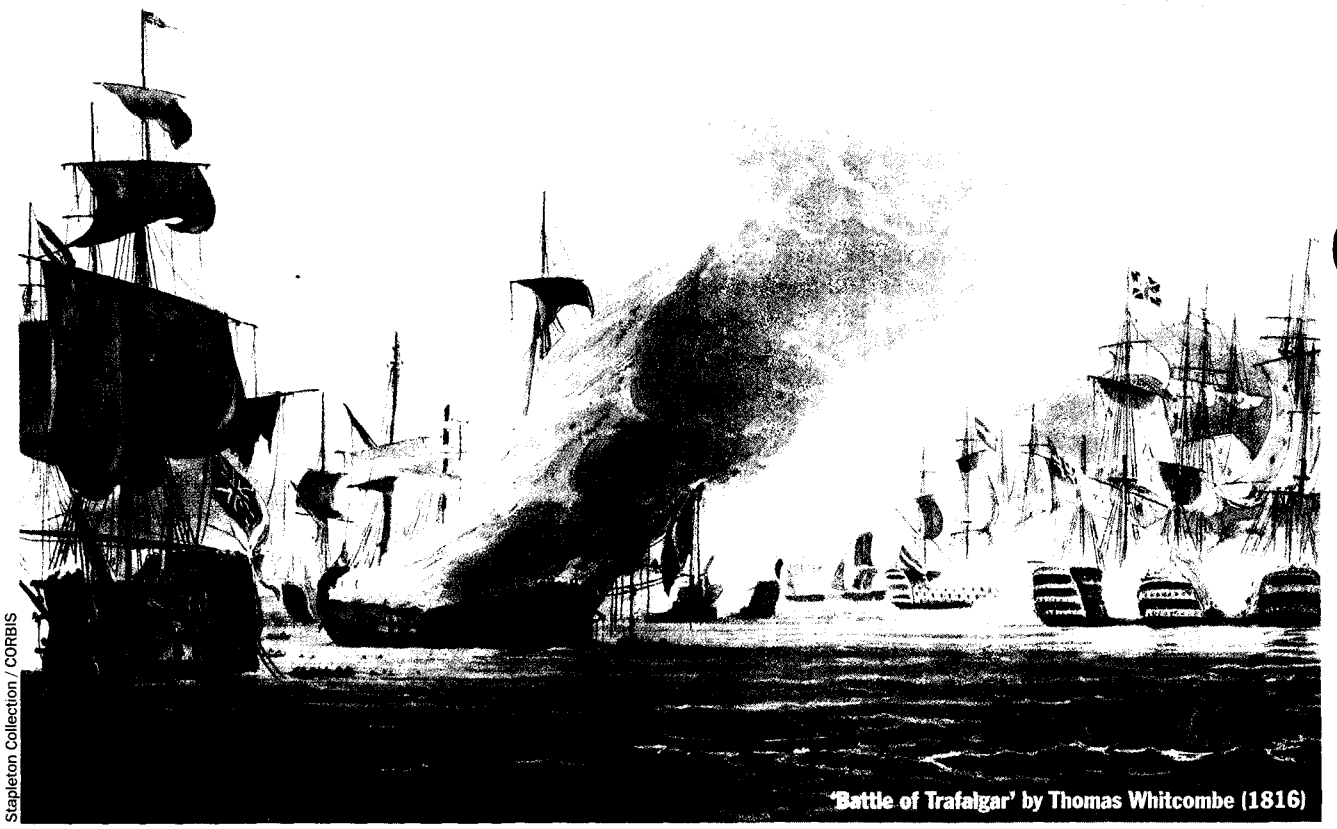

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'Battle of Trafalgar' by Thomas Whitcombe (1816)

Victory at Sea

A battle for the ages observes its bicentennial

BY ROBERT MESSENGER

The battle off Cape Trafalgar on October 21, 1805, was the denouement of almost 50 years of naval warfare between the French and British. It was one of the most destructive naval battles in history, and the last fleet engagement of the age of fighting sail.

The popular conception is that the battle saved England from invasion, forming a trio with Drake's defeat of the Armada in 1588 and the RAF's stand against the Luftwaffe in 1940. The legend is not strictly true. Trafalgar did not save Britain—which was already extremely safe, as France's attempts to invade Ireland in 1797 and 1798 had shown; rather, it gave England control of the Mediterranean for a century.

Trafalgar was the logical outcome of 15 years of British naval dominance. It would have been the same if Lord Nelson had been able to catch the French fleet in the West Indies in June, or if Admiral Calder had caught it in clear weather instead of fog off Cape Finisterre in July. No naval officer on either side had any other expectation than that of British victory. In the end it proved a massacre—the kill ratio was 10-1—more akin to Omdurman than Waterloo.

Seize the Fire
Heroism, Duty, and the Battle of Trafalgar
by Adam Nicolson
HarperCollins, 341 pp., $26.95

Nelson's Trafalgar
The Battle that Changed the World
by Roy Adkins
Viking, 416 pp., $27.95

It was a peculiarly British sort of victory, one that belongs not just to the men who fought it, but also to the efficient naval service and its vast bureaucracy; to decades of seamanship, training, planning, and organization; and to thousands of miles of trade routes bringing timber, hemp, tar, flax, and everything else a small island couldn't produce from far-off markets. The British genius for war is perfectly seen at Trafalgar—the culmination of endless lines of supply and countless acts of tradition and honor: the action of a python, not a tiger. And the great victory only scorched the tiger. The day before Nelson gave his life and his men took 19 ships without loss, Napoleon had defeated the Austrians at Ulm, and a month later he won his greatest victory, defeating the combined Russian and Austrian armies at Austerlitz.

In Horatio Nelson, the British had a leader as successful as Napoleon. It is startling how similar were Nelson's and Napoleon's views of war. "I see only one thing, namely the enemy's main body. I try to crush it, confident that secondary matters will then settle themselves,"

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Napoleon declared in 1797. Nelson, in his famous memorandum to his captains on October 9, 1805, wrote, "[I]n case Signals can neither be seen or perfectly understood, no captain can do very wrong if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy." Throughout the Battle of Trafalgar, Nelson's flagship, HMS *Victory*, carried the signal "Engage the Enemy More Closely."

It was an age of aggressive warfare where caution was punished both on and off the battlefield. The fate of Vice Admiral Sir Robert Calder, who had a chance to achieve a decisive victory against the fleet Nelson eventually devastated at Trafalgar, is telling. Calder commanded the British fleet blockading Ferrol and guarding against the union of the Spanish and French fleets in their bid to control the English Channel for the hours necessary to embark a French army to invade England.

On July 22, 1805, in a heavy fog, the fleet that had been relentlessly pursued to the West Indies and back by Nelson's Mediterranean fleet made contact with Calder's ships off Cape Finisterre. Downwind and outnumbered 15 to 20, Calder engaged the enemy and captured two Spanish ships of the line before night fell. Over the next two days, Calder had the opportunity to re-engage, but he held back fearing that his enemy would be reinforced by the 15 Spanish ships in Ferrol. Calder chose the discreet course of following his orders and keeping the fleets uncombined. He failed to understand that in the Age of Nelson and Napoleon, commanders were expected to take chances, to close with their enemy and destroy him. Calder was berated in the press and felt under suspicion of cowardice. He requested a court martial that he thought would clear his name. The verdict of the court was damning:

> The Court is of the opinion, that the charge of not having done his utmost to renew the said engagement, and to take or destroy every ship of the enemy, has been proved against the said Vice-Admiral Calder; that it appears that his conduct has not been actuated either by cowardice or disaffection, but has arisen solely from error in judgment, and is highly censurable.

Calder had been caught out by Nelson's new form of warfare, where total victory was the only object. From 9:30 A.M. on October 19, 1805, when Nelson learned that a combined fleet of 33 French and Spanish ships under the command of Admiral Villeneuve had sailed from Cadiz, he devoted his every energy to bringing his adversary to battle. He did not fear for his fleet; he feared that the enemy he had spent years awaiting would escape him and battle.

It had already been a difficult campaign for Nelson. In March, Villeneuve and his fleet escaped from Toulon and sailed across the Atlantic to threaten British possessions in the West Indies. Nelson first went east thinking their object was Egypt. When he learned otherwise, he took up the chase, reaching the Caribbean in early June and frightening his opponent into racing back home. Villeneuve had his chance encounter with Calder in late July, and in early August, took safe harbor in Cadiz. Nelson was back where he started—hoping to tempt his opponent into battle—after more than four months of constant worry and full-speed chase. The complete campaign lasted eight months and involved 11 fleets, with the British admirals anticipating and countering every French or Spanish move with tremendous skill. It was the largest campaign fought under sail at sea, and was a strategic victory as impressive as Trafalgar itself was a tactical one.

Most books about Trafalgar overlook the larger campaign in favor of the day of battle, and books marking the 200th anniversary of the battle are no exception. These two new volumes are notable for being serious attempts at a standard account of the battle. Neither Adam Nicolson nor Roy Adkins is a naval historian, and both have gotten up the subject from the vast troves of published material. Both write well and have produced works that are surpassingly entertaining at points.

Adkins has structured his book around quotations from first-hand accounts, in a form of "oral history." These actually detract from what is a nicely brisk account of life in Nelson's navy, and a fine retelling of the battle—particularly as his own prose gets important matters across quickly:

> In the end, all the arguments about how much, if at all, Nelson had been identified as a target for French snipers, and whether or not he made himself deliberately conspicuous, are largely irrelevant. It was a quirk of fate, a phenomenon Nelson well understood, that instead of engaging the *Bucentaure*, the *Victory* became locked alongside the *Redoutable*, the one ship in the combined fleet that had well-trained and motivated marksmen, who had been set the task of clearing the upper decks of the *Victory* prior to boarding.

Yet every time Adkins picks up speed, he rolls out some long block quotation. This is very distracting. A large number of first-person accounts of Trafalgar are readily available, and they are easier to read when printed whole instead of in bleeding chunks. A historian should not be a compiler.

Nicolson's book is more ambitious. His stirring account of the many hours of battle is stretched on a frame of social history dealing with the idea of heroism and the "long tradition of English violence"—the phrase is from the first line of his book. Nicolson is fascinated by his own learning and desire to make connections between Nelson's tactics and William Wordsworth's poetry, between the working of the British battle lines and Adam Smith's monetary principles, between William Blake's poetry and Nelson's character.

Nicolson writes, "If Nelson was, as Byron described him, 'Britannia's God of War,' it was due to his intuitive understanding of the intimacy of violence, love, courage, honor, classlessness, and victory. That was the amalgam which undoubtedly drew the mass of the ships' companies at Trafalgar into their deep love and admiration of him."

While some of this may be true for the captains close to Nelson, the sailors—the mass of the ships' companies—were loyal to Nelson because he was victorious. He brought them prize money and gave them glory to brag

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about. Nicolson makes the same mistake when he characterizes the cheering of the crews when they realized that the French were caught as "they were seeing battle as home, as the moment of perfection." They were cheering the end of a long wait—some of these ships had been on blockade duty for years—and the chance at prize money and a rapid return home. It was the capital-R Romantic era, but that doesn't mean we have to see everything through the prism of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

Nicolson characterizes his work as "an attempt to describe the mental landscape of the people who fought and commanded at one of the great battles in history and, it asks, in particular, why and how the idea of the hero flowered here." It is a compelling idea, and Nicolson is never less than interesting in the parallels he draws, even when he gets carried away. But his ambition is at odds with the book his publisher wanted written for the Trafalgar bicentennial. The social/cultural history is defeated by the battle narrative, which, in turn, is robbed of the fullness it deserves. The grafting of the two distinct histories together is a failure, but made pleasurable by Nicolson's capacity for evocative writing on both fronts. An example of each:

> Far more than any war of the 18th century, this was a triangular, ideological conflict. A post-revolutionary, authoritarian regime in France, profoundly subversive of all the accepted nostrums of pre-modern European society, was allied in Spain with the most conservative and backward of all the European powers, the trailing partner in the alliance, against a Britain which already embodied a distinctly modern Atlanticist set of values—commercial, libertarian, amoral and aggressive—but which remained, nevertheless, dressed in some very old-fashioned "King and Country," monarchist 18th-century establishment clothes. . . .

> [*Royal Sovereign*] was strolling into hell; for perhaps 20 minutes she would be exposed to the fire of the enemy line; for perhaps another 20 minutes beyond that, before the *Belleisle* herself could come up, Collingwood's flagship would be alone in the midst of the enemy. But he did not pause, nor in any way reduce sail. The fear was not of battle, nor of the French and Spanish gunners even then gauging the distance, but of the wind dropping, of the engagement going off at half-cock and of the enemy fleet finding its way back into Cadiz before they were made to fight.

Adkins's is arguably the better book about the battle, and a better introduction to the fleets that fought in it, but Nicolson's work is the more impressive product. Still, neither does anything to challenge the two best accounts of the battle: John Keegan's 86-page account in his *Price of Admiralty* (1988) is a masterpiece of concision and eloquence; and Dudley Pope's nearly 50-year-old book, *Decision at Trafalgar* (1959), is one of the best single-volume narratives of battle ever written. Pope's gift for finding the telling details was amazing, and it's pleasant to report that Henry Holt has reissued the book.

What none of these books does is tell the story of the full naval campaign in any larger, strategic way. For that, you must turn to Sir Julian Corbett's *The Campaign of Trafalgar* (1910). It was one of the very first works of modern naval history, remains one of the greatest, and has just been reissued by Nonesuch Books. That may be the finest mark of the bicentennial of the Battle of Trafalgar. ♦

England's Admiral

Lord Nelson was a swashbuckler, strategist, and charismatic leader. **BY HENRIK BERING**

The Battle of Trafalgar was a great British triumph of arms, but among the casualties was Admiral Nelson himself. The news of the battle took more than two weeks to reach England, whose citizens reacted with shock and disbelief at the loss of the man they saw as their guarantee against French invasion. In a macabre touch, when Nelson's body, which had been preserved in a casket of brandy, arrived home, it was laid in a coffin made seven years earlier out of the mast of an exploded enemy flagship. The coffin had been presented to Nelson as a joke by one of his captains after the Battle of the Nile, and he had kept it as a memento in his cabin.

After his coffin had lain in state at Greenwich Hospital for three days, a barge procession draped in black took it up the Thames to the Whitehall steps. The following day, the admiral's hearse was pulled through the streets to St. Paul's Cathedral, where 7,000 people attended the service. Just before the coffin went into the cathedral crypt, rather than folding up his battle ensign, his sailors tore it up and distributed the pieces among themselves. Nobody interfered.

Nelson
A Dream of Glory
by John Sugden
Henry Holt and Co., 960 pp., $35

The Pursuit of Victory
The Life and Achievement of Horatio Nelson
by Roger Knight
Basic Books, 600 pp., $35

Though the Napoleonic wars rumbled on for another decade, Nelson's victory gave the British total superiority at sea. From then on, Napoleon's navy was kept bottled up in port, and Britain was free to support its allies on the continent until Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo. In this bicentennial year of Trafalgar, a spate of books has appeared on the battle and its victorious admiral, Horatio Nelson. These two works by eminent British historians tower above the rest.

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John Sugden's *Nelson: A Dream of Glory* is the first of a massive three-volume life of Nelson, which is set to become the standard work on the subject, while Roger Knight's *Pursuit of Victory* is contained in a single volume. Judging from a recent British opinion poll, this attention is urgently needed: A large number of schoolchildren think that the tiny Nelson statue on top of the column in Trafalgar Square is Nelson Mandela.

In an age of hunter-killer submarines and stealth destroyers, what has been called the slow aquatic ballet of the great sailing ships may seem somewhat irrelevant, so why care about Nelson? Since Plutarch, one of the purposes of biography has been to serve as an inspiration to posterity, and few lives afford such lessons of inspirational leadership as Nelson's.

Skyscan / CORBIS

Horatio Nelson, not Nelson Mandela, in Trafalgar Square, London.

The cult of Nelson, Knight notes, has ebbed and flowed according to circumstances. It was established by Clarke and Macarthur's *Life of Admiral Nelson* (1809) and confirmed by Southey's *Life of Nelson* (1813), written as a "patriotic manual" for the young. Nelson's reputation suffered under the Victorians, who had certain problems with his connection to the married Lady Hamilton; but in the late 19th century, when the British again started to feel some competition from other European powers, Nelson's stock rose. In World War II, Laurence Olivier played Nelson in Alexander Korda's *That Hamilton Woman*, a film which Winston Churchill once said was worth two divisions.

The difficulty facing the biographer in a case like this is finding the real man, encrusted as he is in myth and adulation. Coming from a modest Norfolk background, Nelson was characterized by his physical and intellectual daring, both as a captain of a single ship and as commander of a fleet. In the battle of Cape St. Vincent, his first major action, he disobeyed an order to disengage and headed straight for the enemy Spanish flagship, the *Santissima Trinidad*, a monster three-decker of 130 guns, which received a massive pounding. He went on to board two enemy ships in this action, and had "a great part of his hat shot away" in the process. When an envious flag captain complained to his admiral that Nelson had disobeyed orders, the admiral is supposed to have responded, "It certainly was so, and if ever you commit such a breach of orders, I will forgive you also."

As a fleet commander, Nelson showed his mettle in the Battle of the Nile when, without precise knowledge of the local shoals, he ordered his ships to enter Aboukir Bay, outside Alexandria, where the French fleet was moored closely along the coast. One line of Nelson's ships slipped between the coast and the French ships, with the result that the French were hammered from both sides. The outcome left Napoleon's army stranded in Egypt and "carried the germ" of Trafalgar, leaving the French navy with an abiding inferiority complex.

As his missing eye and arm would attest, Nelson was a risktaker, but his were calculated risks. Though often at a numerical disadvantage, he knew what his men could accomplish in terms of seamanship and rates of fire, as they were constantly drilled in fast firing. The traditional way of fighting a sea battle at this time was the line-ahead battle, where the opposing fleets would sail in parallel lines and broadside each other as they passed. Nelson's preference was for close-quarter action, exploiting opportunities when they arose, where the professionalism of his sailors would tell. While the French would start firing ineffectually at long distance, Nelson would hold his fire until getting close, and then let it rip into the guts of the enemy ships.

Trafalgar was such a pell-mell battle, where in what has become known as "Nelson's Touch," having divided his force into two columns, he cut the enemy line in equal thirds, concentrating on the rear two thirds. In some cases the cannons of his ships would literally touch the sides of French ships. "No captain can do very wrong if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy," he stated in a memorandum before the battle. His gun crews got off two broadsides every three minutes at Trafalgar, the French only one in five.

According to Sugden, one mark of a successful fleet commander is his ability to delegate, and his willingness to trust his subordinates. Nelson's leadership was consensual: Before battles, he held conferences in his cabin, where he talked all eventualities through with his captains. If contact was lost through fog or gunsmoke, they knew his mind. Indeed, at Trafalgar one of his "band of Brothers," Cuthbert Collingwood, complained, "I wish Nel-

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son would stop signaling. We all *know* what we have to do."

In his dealings with officers and sailors, notes Sugden, Nelson was governed by an 18th-century paternalistic view of the world, where the relationship between God and man, king and subject, and captain and subordinate, is all of a piece, and involves mutual responsibilities, where protection is accorded in exchange for loyalty. Nelson took care of his officers and men, got them promotions, and took particular interest in the education of his midshipmen. Often he paid their debts out of his own pocket. But he was no softie: He had no patience with disobedience, and he flogged when necessary.

Interestingly, a wide streak of disobedience runs through his own career. In the Battle of Copenhagen, when things were not going so well, he (once again) ignored an order to disengage. When he realized that his own ships could not could get close enough to the Danish fleet and cannon boats, he saved the day by calling for a truce, where he threatened to set fire to the cannon boats he had captured. The Danish king folded.

Nelson certainly had his weak points. The most famous, of course, was his long, very public liaison with Lady Emma Hamilton, the young wife of the British ambassador in Naples. And his vanity and incessant self-promotion were notorious: He felt underappreciated at home, and eagerly wore medals presented to him by foreign potentates. The cartoonist James Gillray drew him with the enormous *Chelengk* in his hat, a gift from the sultan of Turkey. Considered another way, Knight sees Nelson's fondness for decorations as a key ingredient of his leadership, like Churchill's cigar or General Montgomery's beret and badges. No proper system of recognition for bravery had yet been devised in the Royal Navy, and Nelson saw his foreign medals as badges of courage, something earned.

Unfortunately, they also made him an obvious target, when he was shot on the quarterdeck of the *Victory* by a French sharpshooter at Trafalgar. ♦

Russian Requiem

The tragic intersection of the lives of Soviet poets.

BY STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

Two major, recent works, done into English and issued by the same American publisher, deal with the lives of Russia's four greatest poets of the 20th century: Osip Mandelstam, Anna Akhmatova, Marina Tsvetaeva, and Boris Pasternak.

The fall of Soviet communism allowed the opening of minds as well as archives, and the publication of important memoirs of the general torment inflicted by that regime on Russian intellectual life, as well as the printing of significant records of specific secret police atrocities and other official documents. Both of these books examine the devastating consequences of unique events in Soviet history on the lives of the poets.

Moscow Memoirs
by Emma Gerstein
Overlook, 285 pp., $35

The Death of a Poet
The Last Days of Marina Tsvetaeva
by Irma Kudrova
Overlook, 232 pp., $29.95

The horror inflicted on a writer of genius like Mandelstam, who died in the Gulag, speaks for itself. As to the works of Emma Gerstein and Irma Kudrova, it is probable they will only be read in their American editions by specialists. Their idiom is quaintly overwrought, with a studied theatricality that seems false compared with the real anguish of the Russian nation, and that places them far from the traditional standards of literary research. Nevertheless, they have much to tell Western scholars and others interested in the destiny of the Soviet intelligentsia during and after the Stalinist purges. These books are also somewhat scandalous from the viewpoint of those who have come to see the outstanding 20th century Russian poets as martyrs of a cruel dictatorship. The memoirist Gerstein and the scholar Kudrova both see themselves more as literary detectives than as serious critics, and their common aim seems to be to mitigate the inhuman nature of Stalinism. Each practices a sort of Soviet-nostalgic revisionism, which would not be out of place on an Anglo-American campus, where sneering at (when not ignoring) Stalin's victims is the established form. But from the pens of Russian scholars, this seems dissonant and disturbing.

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The key event in the *Moscow Memoirs* of Gerstein, who died at 99 in 2002, is Mandelstam's composition of a verse attack on Stalin. The poem dates from 1934, and the direct aftermath of the forced collectivization of the Soviet peasantry. The text is typically known as "the Stalin epigram," with opening lines translated here:

We live without sensing the country beneath us
At ten paces, our words have no sound
And when there's a will to half-open our mouths
The Kremlin crag-dweller bars the way.

The poem goes on to describe Stalin without naming him, but mentioning his "fat fingers" and "cockroach eyes," and evoking his retinue of sycophants as "rabble." Finally, the dictator is said to savor each execution committed on his orders. (An alternate version refers to Stalin as "the hunter and slayer of peasants.")

The circumstances in which Man-

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Itar-Tass Photos

Nikolai Gumilyov, Lev Gumilyov, Anna Akhmatova (1915)

delstam wrote these lines have been described at length in *Hope Against Hope*, the classic memoir by his widow, Nadezhda Mandelstam. Published in the West in 1970, when she was 71, *Hope Against Hope* seemed to forever record the truth about the poet's calvary. Immediately after the poem's composition, when it became known in Mandelstam's circle, he was arrested by the secret police and banished from Moscow. In 1937, he was arrested again—and dispatched to the Gulag, where he died.

Gerstein adds very little of substance to these facts, but she is inhabited by a spirit of resentment over details she says were misrecorded by Mandelstam's widow, and petty slights she claims to have suffered from the poet himself. Contrary to the canonical account, in which the poet seems a somewhat otherworldly figure, she describes a Mandelstam so driven with hatred of the regime that he not only made no attempt to conceal the poem but recited it to numerous individuals and asked others (Gerstein included) to memorize it. She expresses dismay to have learned that she was not, as Mandelstam seemed to imply, the only person recruited for the risky task of recording the verses without writing them down.

In addition, Gerstein expresses rage—obviously stored up over many years, since this volume first appeared when she was 95 years old—that the poet may have, even inadvertently, revealed her name to his interrogators. Later, she confronted him, and he admitted having done so, arguing that he could not name Pasternak or Akhmatova, who were also in on the "secret." Gerstein writes, "It's quite sad to learn that you have been selected in advance as a sacrifice to save others." But she was not arrested, and the only punishment she received for her involvement with Mandelstam's "anti-Soviet" behavior was dismissal from work and a bad employment reference. In this way she resembles the American Communists who overdramatize their suffering in the 1950s; like them, she lost a job, while Mandelstam and others lost their lives.

Gerstein also gives way to irritability when discussing Mandelstam's motives for denouncing Stalin in verse. He was, she says, henpecked into demanding freedom as an author. Writes Gerstein: "It was madness . . . to hover persistently before the eyes of blood-crazed officials or mortally frightened writers and editors. . . . Yet [Nadezhda Mandelstam] could not withstand Mandelstam's elemental craving to live and work freely and openly, and [her] gambling instinct constantly incited Osip to keep trying."

It appears uniquely Soviet to describe monumental acts of civic heroism and steadfast intellectual independence in such a contemptuous (and contemptible) manner. Mandelstam seems to have well and truly gone insane under the pressure of official harassment. But Gerstein, whose relations with the Mandelstams were something other than normal, also seems possessed of an unhealthy obsession with placing herself at the center of modern Russian literary history, even if she must tear down the moral examples of Mandelstam and his widow.

She does the same to Akhmatova, with whose son, Lev Gumilyov, Gerstein was closely linked. Akhmatova had lived through the execution of Lev's father, the gifted poet Nikolai Gumilyov, at the hands of the secret police in the early years of Bolshevik rule. Akhmatova then suffered the arrest and exile of her son, along with that of Mandelstam, who had also been her intimate. Her verse cycle about her son's imprisonment, *Requiem*, is one of the landmarks of Russian literature. Lev Gumilyov survived to become one of contemporary Russia's worst Jew-baiting crackpots, but Gerstein devotes little attention to that detail. She is much more interested in chewing over the fate of certain manuscripts, and elaborating on alleged discrepancies between her memory and the powers of recollection of Akhmatova and Nadezhda Mandelstam, once again in the interest of boosting her own slender intellectual stature.

Nevertheless, Gerstein's curious writings include many interesting observations, along with, in the present edition, incomprehensible failures of translation. For example, it is suggested that the poet Gumilyov's manuscripts had been destroyed by some children who used them to make "crackers," and we later read that Osip Mandelstam wrote a note on some "fried eggs" that belonged to Gerstein. We also learn that Mandelstam had a distinctive, almost surrealist, method

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of writing verse: He would form a phrase or line and speak it to a companion, who would repeat it back to him. If he liked it, he would keep the line. This habit seems to explain, in some manner, the ineffable clarity, music, and originality of Mandelstam's verse, which is difficult to render in English, but which makes him, in the eyes of many, the greatest Russian poet after Pushkin.

Mandelstam's creation of "the Stalin epigram" became a defining event in Soviet history, as well as the cause of the author's destruction. Another such incident is much less well known today, but serves as a similar emblematic moment, again involving protest against Stalin, and also bringing with it the destruction of a poet. But in this case, described in Irma Kudrova's book, the poet Marina Tsvetaeva was connected to the protest in a much more sinister way.

Unlike Mandelstam, Akhmatova, and Pasternak, who stayed in Russia, Tsvetaeva had gone into exile in Czechoslovakia, later moving to France. The act with which the ultimate tragedy of Tsvetaeva began is scantily described in Kudrova's text, but is known to historians of Soviet espionage and the anti-Stalinist left in the West. That was the assassination in Switzerland—on September 4, 1937, at the height of the Moscow purges—of a middle-aged man bearing a passport identifying him as a Czech citizen named Hans Eberhard.

Itar-Tass Photos / Vladimir Sayapin

Osip Mandelstam

Eberhard's real name was Ignacy Porecki. He was also known as Ignace Reiss, and was a senior official of Stalin's secret police. A veteran of the Communist International, as well as Red Army Intelligence (GRU), he played a crucial role in Soviet espionage. Ten weeks before his death, Reiss had taken a stand against the purges that had just decapitated the officer corps of the armed forces—the purges that Stalin had ordered extended to Republican Spain, in the middle of its civil war. Reiss broke with Stalin in a thundering letter, returned his decorations, proclaimed his solidarity with the exiled Leon Trotsky, and warned against the spread of the KGB's murderous actions into the West—specifically, to the Spanish Republic. His liquidation came almost immediately and caused immense publicity in the West. It was among the developments that precipitated the defection of Whittaker Chambers from the Soviet espionage network.

CORBIS / Sygma

Boris Pasternak (1933)

The Reiss murder, a central event in the history of Soviet intelligence operations, led to more deaths, and involved people also assigned to the murder of Trotsky. A complicated trail led the Swiss police to France. With the cooperation of the French police, the commanding node of a Soviet secret terrorist group was located in Paris, in the person of Sergei Efron, the husband of Marina Tsvetaeva. Efron escaped the police and returned to the Soviet fatherland, but the uproar alienated many Russian exiles from Tsvetaeva, including Vladimir Nabokov, who agreed with the widespread belief among émigrés that she was a Soviet agent.

Worse, Efron's group was also connected to a conspiracy to murder Trotsky's son, Lev Sedov, who lived in France, and to the sensational disappearance of a White Russian general, Yevgeny Karlovich Miller. The Reiss, Sedov, and Miller cases have become subjects for academic commentators on Tsvetaeva's work, and the controversy centers on how much she knew about Efron's activities. But, as this book shows, the weight of common sense supports a belief that, since Efron had recruited her entire circle to the KGB, the poet could not have been ignorant of her husband's evil work.

Efron had fled to the Soviet Union. Her daughter Ariadna having preceded him, Tsvetaeva, with her son Grigory, nicknamed Mur, also returned to her native land. For some time she and Efron enjoyed the patronage of the KGB, living in a secret police rest

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home and enjoying (in the poet's own words) "tortes and pineapple." But Efron's performance in the Reiss case had not been brilliant, and he and others who had returned home with him were purged and executed. Marina committed suicide in 1941.

Irma Kudrova has made it her mission to advocate for a revisionist view of this series of events, in which she believes Tsvetaeva, presumably because of her undoubted gifts, must be treated as a saintly innocent. Sympathy is begged from the reader in pondering the psychic pain of the poet on learning that her husband was a spy involved in assassinations. Kudrova seems to accept the argument of Ariadna Efron—the surviving daughter of Tsvetaeva's marriage to the organizer and commander of a team of professional torturers and murderers—that all of their victims were enemies of the Soviet state who deserved to be killed.

Thus, Kudrova writes plaintively: "After more than a half century, Sergei Efron's reputation ought to be reconsidered." But why should KGB intellectuals and assassins be granted some special dispensation by history? Why, when so many of their victims are now forgotten—victims such as Reiss, who, like Mandelstam, defied and challenged Stalin, but who also was an unknown professional revolutionary, not an author? Kudrova comments blithely that Efron and his associates "took part in a whole series of anti-Trotskyite operations, the details of which we may learn some day." But, in reality, we already know the names of many targets of these "wet affairs," as murders and other criminal acts were known in the parlance of the secret police.

They include the Catalan author and political leader Andreu Nin, who led the movement in which George Orwell fought in the Spanish civil war. Nin, who translated novels into Catalan editions that are still read today, is well-remembered in Spain. But he was tormented and then slain by Soviet agents. The names of others similarly disposed of are ciphers in the lost pages of history: Rudolf Klement, Erwin Wolf, Hans Freund, Kurt Landau, and Marc Rhein were young anti-Stalinists cut down in their youth or early middle age, kidnapped and murdered by KGB killers in Western Europe. Do they not deserve some consideration by history, no less than a Stalinist assassin who happened to have the good fortune to be married to a famous author?

Yet, in Kudrova's bizarre view, it is painful to imagine Efron and other gangsters being accused by their Soviet masters, before their own deaths in the purges, of Trotskyism—since they had done so much to destroy that spectral presence in the minds of the Soviet *nomenklatura*. Kudrova cannot empathize with the targets of their activities, some of whom also had children. Andreu Nin left two daughters; Ignace Reiss had a son. Lev Sedov had a nephew who survives today in Mexico, and he, in turn, has a daughter, Dr. Nora Volkow, the great-granddaughter of Leon Trotsky, who is director of the National Institute on Drug Addiction in Rockville, Maryland, and who was recently described in a news story as "one of the highest-ranking Hispanic women in the Bush administration." Born and raised in the West, she was spared the degradation visited on other descendants of prominent Russian intellectuals.

It has often been argued that belief in Soviet socialism would survive in Western academia long after the collapse of the system in the East. But we have also seen that post-Communist Russia has borrowed many of the worst aspects of Western culture, from mafia economics to neo-Nazism. It was predictable that writers like Gerstein and Kudrova would adopt the Western academic habit of moral relativism, seeing the resistance to evil by Osip Mandelstam and others as "insane," and the accommodation to that same evil by the denizens of the Tsvetaeva circle as trivial faults. Too bad for the historical and cultural legacy of the Russian people. ♦

The Four Rs

Readin', writin', 'rithmetic, and religion?

BY CHARMAINE YOEST

In 1925, John Scopes, a 24-year-old science teacher, violated Tennessee law by teaching his students the theory of evolution. The result was *State* v. *John Scopes*, the infamous "Monkey Trial" immortalized in the classic play and movie *Inherit the Wind*.

Does God Belong in Public Schools?
by Kent Greenawalt
Princeton University Press
296 pp., $29.95

Nearly a century later, the Scopes trial still is being replayed in schoolrooms and courtrooms across the country. Today, Ground Zero in the evolution-creation conflagration has shifted to Kansas. The Kansas State Board of Education began hearings in May to consider including intelligent design in the state science standards. A nationwide coalition of scientists is boycotting the hearings. Kansas is not alone: Controversy over teaching evolution has erupted in at least 20 states.

In Alabama, Arkansas, and Georgia, the focus is on attempts to modify textbooks so that arguments for evolution are labeled clearly as "theory." And parents in Pennsylvania filed a federal lawsuit after a school board decision requiring schools to teach

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Bettmann / CORBIS

Texas students just after the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed prayer in public schools (1962)

intelligent design. The conflict in the schools, of course, goes beyond questions about evolution. Parents in Maryland are challenging the implementation of a sex education curriculum that labeled as "myth" the belief that "homosexuality is a sin." In an initial ruling on a restraining order, the district court judge concluded that the curriculum promoted "viewpoint discrimination," and threatened the parents' First Amendment right to freedom of expression.

Into this fray wades Kent Greenawalt, a constitutional scholar at Columbia Law School, with *Does God Belong in Public Schools?* But oddly, for a legal scholar, he begins by asserting that the courts' role in the changing relationship between schools and religion has been "only a modest one." The driver, instead, has been cultural, particularly the secularizing effects of both the Progressives and John Dewey. Nevertheless, he provides a lengthy list of religion-related issues considered by the courts in the last four decades: moments of silence; prayer at graduation and football games; posting of the Ten Commandments; the treatment of student religious groups within schools; the teaching of evolution and creationism; the right to religious expression within schools for both teachers and students; and parental rights to withdraw students from objectionable classroom material.

Further, Greenawalt notes that "during the past two decades, the Supreme Court has revamped the law of free exercise and establishment to an extraordinary degree." Then he adds, apparently without noting the contradiction in his argument that law followed the culture, that the courts' school prayer and Bible-reading bans were "so unpopular" that many school districts simply ignored them.

It appears that, perhaps, the role of the courts in the relationship between religion and public schools has been a bit more than "modest."

One of the most significant of the church-state cases was the 1947 decision in *Everson* v. *Board of Education*, in which the Supreme Court first interpreted the Establishment Clause to include a "wall of separation between church and state." Oddly, Greenawalt spends very little time discussing this consequential, and controversial, framing of the Fourteenth Amendment. Then he dispenses with two subsequent Establishment Clause opinions, *McCollum* v. *Board of Education* and *Zorach* v. *Clauson*, both in single paragraphs without naming

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them, save in the footnotes. There in the footnotes we also learn that Zorach's lead attorney was one Kenneth W. Greenawalt, the author's father. The elder Greenawalt argued the case in front of the Supreme Court for a group of New York City parents who thought release time for religious instruction was unconstitutional. He lost.

That was in 1952, when Greenawalt, the author, was midway through high school—old enough to have noticed his father's appearance in front of the Supreme Court. In the acknowledgments, he thanks his wife and his brother, a high school teacher, for his "extremely valuable perspective." No dad. Here is Kent Greenawalt, these many years later, writing a book on which his father was inarguably an expert, but who makes nary an appearance except for lonely footnote 41. Perhaps this was his attempt to avoid an association with advocacy and present an even-handed academic presentation. If so, then he should have left out his fight with the Flat Earth Society.

On page 31: "A science teacher should not fail to teach that the earth is outside the physical center of the universe even if the doctrine of some religion puts the earth there." Which religion would that be, exactly? Given the amount of time this Columbia law professor gives to the notion of a flat earth, Greenawalt appears to believe this ancient worldview still lurks behind our mainstream church doors.

Again, on page 67: "Schools teach as true . . . physical facts, including the sun's place at the center of the planetary system. . . . These teachings implicitly reject the following religious propositions: God created the sun to circle the earth. . . ." Then, again: "Many people will not credit a religious conclusion that conflicts directly with a powerful scientific one, such as the roundness of the earth," he astutely observes. "Thus anyone who accepts scientific proof that the sun lies at the center of our planetary system cannot also believe the religious claim that God made the sun to circle the earth." And finally: "Although all scientific theories are revisable . . . the likelihood that further scientific advances will show that the earth is flat . . . is negligible."

Greenawalt takes his antireligious bias so far that he slips this little nugget into the footnotes:

> One might say that religion *per se* is healthy or good for people, but even that would be odd, given the diverse practices in which religious people have engaged throughout history. To take one extreme example, in devotion to the dual-natured Hindu goddess Kali, a group of marauding Thugees in nineteenth-century India emphasized her dark side and strangled strangers from behind in sacrifice to her.

So "religious people" in Greenawalt's book are in the same category as murderous marauding savages who believe in a flat earth.

This troubling subtext surfaces in his discussion of civic education and political participation. Greenawalt advances the argument that tenets of religious faith and the secular civic canon often parallel one another. For example, if one believes in the inerrancy of Scripture, then one might also subscribe to an originalist interpretation of our secular scripture, the Constitution. In Greenawalt's opinion, these are convergent errors. Schools, therefore, have a role in making sure religious belief remains temperate: "Authoritarian, intolerant, dogmatic religions that discourage critical thinking are less desirable *from a civic point of view* than open, tolerant religions that encourage critical deliberation," he concludes. "If the effect of public education is indirectly to favor the second kind of religion, that is a cause for satisfaction, not regret."

The ramifications of his prejudice become clear in the discussion of a 1987 case, *Mozert* v. *Hawkins County Board of Education*, in which parents in Tennessee wanted their children exempted from reading a textbook they found offensive. The parents lost. Greenawalt believes the court erred, but only because the parents have recourse in putting their children in private schools "with much less exposure to diverse perspectives."

He concludes that *Mozert* provides a cautionary tale: "[F]undamentalist Christians are active in the political process," he notes. "That process is damaged by participants who are rigid ideologues. . . . Too many uncompromising ideologues are unhealthy for liberal democracy."

He does note that neither conservatives nor liberals hold a monopoly on production of "rigid ideologues." Nevertheless, he deploys his own ideological views in decreeing that the sexual abstinence movement is justified only through "religious objections," summarily dismissing the serious noreligious medical and scientific arguments proponents have developed.

He similarly dismisses creationism and intelligent design. Those opposing Darwinian evolution do so out of "distress" because it "threatens the grounds of religious belief and of morality." Although Greenawalt notes that no less a figure than Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia in his 1987 dissent to *Edwards* v. *Aguillard* recognized a scientific basis for creationism, he himself only allocates one footnote for evidence. Breezily, he states that "whatever the possible misapprehensions of not very well informed legislators, teaching scientific creationism *is* teaching religion, and that is not permitted." Conversely, Greenawalt emphasizes that an education that elides religious issues is an impoverished one. Eliminating religion as a subject diminishes the historical significance of religious movements and communicates a marginalization of religious faith that is wholly inaccurate to real-world events.

God does belong in public schools. But this book underscores the challenges confronting a religiously heterogenous society. Attempting to adjudicate a controversy while arrogantly characterizing one side as flat earth partisans is not analysis. It's wishful thinking. Kent Greenawalt's inability to excise his own biases, after a self-conscious attempt to provide a dispassionate navigation through a freighted debate, does not bode well for today's inheritors of the Scopes trial controversies. ♦

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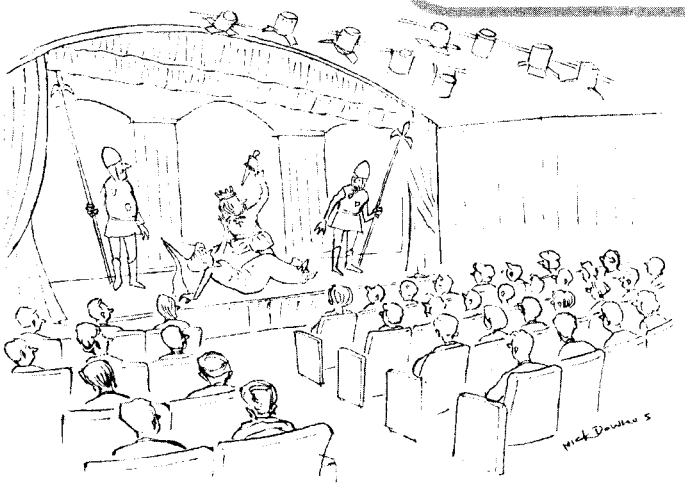

"I'd love to voice my protest, but I haven't got a speaking part."

Books in Brief

***Wicca's Charm: Understanding the Spiritual Hunger Behind the Rise of Modern Witchcraft and Pagan Spirituality* by Catherine Edwards Sanders (Shaw, 223 pp., $13.99)** Evidence abounds of a growing interest among women in modern witchcraft, also known as Wicca. About 5 million self-proclaimed witches live in America and their presence has steadily crept into the mainstream.

For *Wicca's Charm*, WEEKLY STANDARD alumna Catherine Edwards Sanders spent a year interviewing dozens of witches, young and old, to find out what Wiccans believe and what draws women to Wicca. She discovers that, while there's no formal consensus on Wicca's doctrine, there are a few central tenets. All Wiccans have a deep respect for the earth. Some cross the line into monism and pantheism. As neopagans, they don't believe humans were created in God's image, so a human holds the same dignity and value as an insect or a tree. For these Wiccans, recognizing the divinity of females and female power is paramount. Wiccans perform rituals honoring femininity and most worship both themselves and a Mother Goddess. "Whatever works to make women stronger is the goal," Sanders writes.

The groundwork for Wicca was laid during the American Romantic era, when ideas about the exaltation of nature, emotion, and the individual thrived. But, not surprisingly, Wicca came to real prominence around the same time as modern feminism. As Edwards explains, most female Wiccans yearn to find meaning in life but feel marginalized by a patriarchal society and rejected by a male-dominated Christian church. Political feminism couldn't satisfy their spiritual needs so they embraced a practice that celebrates women.

Sanders's book has many virtues. First is the juxtaposition of Wiccan beliefs with those of Christianity so the reader sees how one is a reaction to the other. Additionally, Sanders's style is calm, respectful, and nonjudgmental. *Wicca's Charm* will be of interest to anyone who wants to understand a culture and mentality that has led so many women to neopaganism and self-worship.

—Rachel DiCarlo

***White House Nannies: True Tales From the Other Department of Homeland Security* by Barbara Kline (Tarcher/Penguin, 238 pp., $23.95)** Barbara Kline has been staffing the nurseries of the city's kingmakers and empire-builders for more than 20 years, and, boy, does she have some stories to tell.

The book follows the story of broadcast journalist Janette Huntington and international lawyer David Wilder, who are rarely in the same time zone. As they careen from one childcare/career/in-law crisis to the next, Kline is called in at strategic points for triage.

At times, it reads like an advertorial; the cover touts Kline as "President of D.C.'s Premier Nanny Placement Agency" and page two promises that "No matter how many hours you spend away from your home and family, when you finally get back there, life will be harmonious—because you have a White House Nanny."

What saves it are the real-life stories. The sticky-fingered nanny who invited her employers to dinner at her home—and served them on their own Irish linen tablecloth. The parents who never noticed that their nanny was pregnant—with twins. The passive-aggressive grandma who invited her son, the kids, and their nanny—but not their mother—to Disney World. The applicant looking for a nanny for her one-year-old so she could spend more time with her spaniels. What, if anything, were these people thinking?

When Janette finds herself alone with her son for several unscheduled hours, she very nearly panics. Kline writes that few of her clients ever experience this much downtime with their children. Huh? If you envision yourself ordering up child care 24/7/365, as some of her clients do, you should consider skipping the whole gestation thing and just get an ant farm. Really, who would know? After all, Kline writes, "even the most visible Washingtonians keep their offspring behind closed doors. Hidden from the media." And, sometimes, from themselves.

—Susie Currie

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Harriet Miers said that one of the former Supreme Court justices she most admires is Warren E. Burger. "It was [Burger's] role in the administration of justice" that impresses Miers, said James T. Dyke, a White House spokesman. —News item

Parody

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PRESS OFFICE

James --

Thanks for the line about "the administration of justice" on the Burger thing. Looks like Harriet has gone on the record with some other favorite things that might need explaining, though. Any suggestions? Mike—
How about these? —J

Harriet Miers favorites:

Favorite Marx Brother: Zeppo — "Certainly, some might sooner point to Harpo, Chico, or Groucho, but Ms. Miers admires Zeppo's role in the facilitation of filmed ensemble performances."

Favorite James Bond actor: George Lazenby — "Ms. Miers respects Lazenby's work in his one Bond film, and the scenes with Telly Savalas, who plays Blofeld, should be noted. Also, Lazenby's acting in General Hospital is often overlooked."

Favorite president: Warren Harding — "Ms. Miers looks up to Harding's role in supporting the Washington Naval Conference of 1921-1922, one of the city's best naval conferences."

Favorite automobile: Chrysler Le Baron — "What appeals to Ms. Miers is the Le Baron's tradition of richness and style, unmatched elegance and comfort, and standard cloth and leather seats."

Favorite color: Tan — "Ms. Miers respects the way this color negotiates the divide between beige and brown."

Favorite musical group: Wings — "Ms. Miers respects the role Wings played in the furtherance of the custom of audiotape recording."

Favorite world leader: John Major — "Who could forget Major's 'Back to Basics' campaign of 1993, or his defeat of John Redwood, the Secretary of State for Wales, for leadership of the Conservative party in 1995? A memorable reign."

Favorite superhero: Robin — "Come on. Everyone likes Robin."

Favorite animal: Eastern Gray Squirrel — "Ms. Miers respects the animal's ability to survive, and even thrive, in Washington, D.C."

the weekly Standard

October 24, 2005

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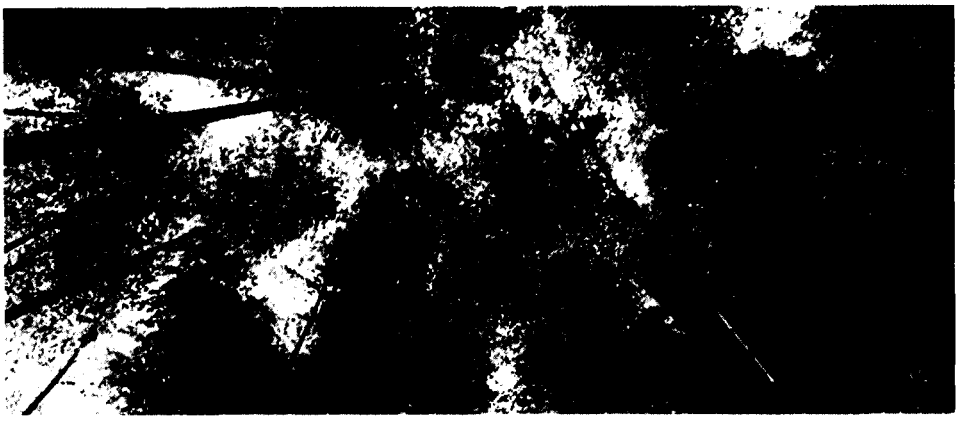

The value of seeing the whole forest.

by the parent company of Kraft Foods, Philip Morris International and Philip Morris USA

As a company that is the parent of both tobacco and food companies, we know what it is like to make the news – and not only in the financial reports. But what may not always make news is the long-term performance of a company like Altria Group, Inc.

We're not only one of the 30 companies that make up the Dow Jones Industrial Average, we're also one of the most profitable companies in the world. And we've had 38 dividend increases in the last 36 years. The family of brands made by our operating companies includes household names like Maxwell House, Marlboro, Velveeta, Virginia Slims, Philadelphia, Kraft, Nabisco. And many more.

We also know that in order for our companies to continue to be in business they need to strive to meet the expectations of Altria's shareholders, their consumers, regulators and society. It is simply the only path to the future.

For a company as newsworthy as ours, at times it can be hard to see the forest for the trees. But to look beyond immediate challenges and position our company for long-term success, we have to keep the whole forest squarely in sight.

And that's a vision we feel is worth sharing.

Our name is Altria Group.

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It's time to go on a low-carbon diet.

Natural Gas By shifting the balance of the energy fuel mix from coal to natural gas, the cleanest burning fossil fuel, the U.S. could reduce carbon dioxide emissions in new power generation by up to 50%. Today, natural gas accounts for about 40% of BP's global production.

Hydrogen BP is the largest partner in the Department of Energy's hydrogen program, working with automakers to test hydrogen-powered cars. Though several decades away, we've already launched the program's first pilot refueling sites to better learn how we can supply hydrogen in the future.

Solar BP is teaming with The Home Depot® at more than 200 stores in California, New Jersey and Long Island, making it easier for homeowners to lower or eliminate monthly utility bills, while producing 100% emission-free electricity. Today, BP is one of the largest providers of solar energy in the world.

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